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UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

THE

SCHOOLMASTER:

ESSAYS ON PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

SELECTED FROM THE

WORKS OF ASCHAM, MILTON, LOCKE, AND BUTLER;

FROM

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION;

AND FROM

LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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THE SCHOOLMASTER.

AN ANALYTICAL ACCOUNT OF ASCHAM'S "SCHOOLMASTER."

[ROGER ASCHAM was born at Kirby-Wiske, or Kirby-upon-Wiske, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1515. His father, whose name was John, was steward to Lord Scroop, and is said to have been a man of very superior understanding, as well as of eminent integrity: his mother was of a good family. They had two other sons, Thomas and Anthony, both born before Roger, as well as several daughters. John Ascham and his wife are stated to have died on the same day, and almost in the same hour, after a union of forty-seven years.

Roger, who appears to have been born in his father's old age, was in his boyhood taken into the house of Sir Anthony Wingfield, to be educated, at the expense of that gentleman, along with his two sons. Their tutor was a Mr. Bond. Here he so greatly took Sir Anthony, by the love he showed for reading, and the rapid progress he made in his studies, that this generous patron resolved to complete his kindness by sending him to the University. He was accordingly entered of St. John's College, Cambridge, about the year 1530. He soon greatly distinguished himself in this new sphere, especially by his progress in the knowledge of the Greek language,

then new as a general study in England, and the most fashionable of all others. He is said to have acquired the language principally by teaching it to others, a course which he pursued by the advice of his friend, Mr. Robert Pember, who told him that he would learn more by reading to a boy a single fable of Æsop, than by hearing others read Latin lectures on the whole Iliad. He took his degree of B.A. on the 28th February, 1534; and on the 23rd March following was elected Fellow of his college. We shall give, at the proper place, the passage in his "Schoolmaster," in which he relates how he obtained his fellowship through the management of Dr. Nicholas Medcalf, the master of the college, although he had already made himself obnoxious to the authorities by the inclination he had begun to show for the reformed faith. In 1536 he took his degree of M.A. In 1544, he published, with a dedication to Henry VIII., his first work, under the title of "Toxophilus; the School or Partitions of Shooting, contained in two books." It is a treatise in defence of archery, which was at this time Ascham's favourite pastime. Henry was much pleased with this production, and settled a small pension upon the author, who was also the same year chosen to succeed his friend, Sir John Cheke, as University orator.

Among Ascham's other accomplishments was great skill in penmanship. Such was his reputation in this line, that he was employed to teach writing to the king's children, Prince Edward and the Princess Elizabeth, as well as to many of the young nobility. In 1546, one of his pupils, Mr. William Grindal, had been selected to be

tutor, in the Greek and Latin languages, to the Princess Elizabeth. He died in 1548, and upon this Ascham was invited to court to supply his place. After a short time, however, he appears to have taken offence at something that happened, on which he threw up his appointment, and returned to the University. But in 1550, while he was on a visit to his relations in Yorkshire, he was recalled to court to attend Sir Richard Morysine, who was about to proceed on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V. It was while iourneying to London on this occasion that he paid the visit to Lady Jane Grey, of which we shall quote in the sequel the account given by himself in his "Schoolmaster." He embarked with the ambassador for Germany in September 1550, and he remained on the continent for about three years, having in the course of that time visited Italy. In 1552, while residing at the Court of the Emperor, he wrote a small tract, which was afterwards published, under the title of "A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany," in the form of a letter to Mr. John Astley, one of the persons of the Princess Elizabeth's establishment. He appears to have been still abroad when he was appointed, through the interest of Sir William Cecil, Latin Secretary to King Edward VI. The death of Edward, however, in 1552, deprived him both of his places and of his pension, which had been continued to him by that king. In these circumstances, he retired again to the University, conceiving that all his prospects of advancement at court were gone.

It is greatly to the credit of Bishop Gardiner, then

Lord Chancellor, that on the recommendation of Lord Paget, although perfectly aware of Ascham's attachment to the doctrines of the reformers, he replaced him in his post of Latin Secretary; and not only procured him the restoration of his old pension of ten pounds a year, but induced the Queen to double its amount. He retained, likewise, his place of public orator to the University, and his fellowship in St. John's, till the 1st of June, 1554, when he married Margaret Howe, a lady of good family, with whom he is said to have received a considerable fortune.

He continued in great favour with Queen Mary during the remainder of her reign; but his constant residence at court appears only to have commenced after the accession of Elizabeth. That queen both continued him in his office of Latin Secretary, and reinstated him in his former office of her tutor in the Greek and Latin languages. He continued to read the classics with her for some hours every day so long as he lived. Among several benefactions which he received from her Majesty was a prebendal stall in the cathedral of York, which she bestowed upon him in 1559, and which he held till his death.

It was in 1563 that he commenced the composition of his principal work, entitled "The Schoolmaster; or a plain and perfect way of teaching children to understand, write, and speak the Latin tongue, but especially purposed for the private bringing up of youth in gentlemen and noblemen's houses, and commodious, also, for all such as have forgot the Latin tongue, and would, by

themselves, without a schoolmaster, in short time, and with small pains, receive a sufficient ability to understand, write, and speak Latin." The circumstances which led to his undertaking this performance shall be related presently.

He did not live to publish it. It has been supposed that the work was not even completed; but, in his preface, the author expressly says that it was. Ascham is said to have early injured his health through his application to study, and at last to have become so weak as to be unable to read at night. On this account he used to rise very early in the morning. A few years before his death (not the year before, as stated in the Biographia Britannica) he had a hectic attack, by which he was greatly reduced; and having, while still suffering from this cause, imprudently resumed his night studies, in his eagerness to finish a Latin poem which he intended to present to the Queen at the new year, he brought on a severe fit of ague on the 23rd of December, 1568, which terminated his life on the 30th of the same month. On this event, Elizabeth is said to have declared, that she would sooner have thrown ten thousand pounds into the sea than lost her tutor Ascham; a saying which is of course admired, as every thing belonging to that able and successful princess is admired, from old English habits; though it proves but a moderately disinterested love of her instructor, and though all who knew the cold heart and selfish nature of that royal hypocrite must be aware that for twenty thousand she would have had him hanged.

A singular part of Ascham's character was his addiction to dice and cock-fighting. Collier, in his Dictionary, says, "He was an honest man, and a good shooter, archery (whereof he wrote a book called *Toxophilus*) being his principal exercise in his youth, which in his old age he exchanged for a worse pastime, neither so healthful for his body nor profitable for his purse; I mean cock-fighting, which very much impaired his estate, so that he died rich only in two books, his *Toxophilus* and *Scholarcha*, wherein lay both his estate and monument." He proposed, indeed, and seems to have actually begun, to write a treatise upon his favourite sport, under title of "The Book of the Cock-pit," as we shall see from a passage in his "Schoolmaster," in which he apparently alludes to some disrepute to which he had exposed himself by the habits we have mentioned. Both studious and religious as he was, Ascham was no ascetic, but seems to have had a keen zest for the pleasures of society. In a curious epistle written from Germany, to his friend Raven, one of the fellows of St. John's, he says: "For understanding of the Italian I am meet well; but surely I drink Dutch better than I speak Dutch. (He means German.) Tell Mr. D. Maden, I will drink with him now a carouse of wine; and would to God he had a vessel of Rhenish wine, on condition that I paid forty shillings for it; and, perchance, when I come to Cambridge, I will so provide here, that every year I will have a little piece of Rhenish wine." He is also said to have been a proficient in music.

Ascham left three sons, Giles, Dudley, and Sturmur,

the eldest of whom obtained a scholarship at St. John's through the interest of Lord Burleigh, and was afterwards appointed to a fellowship of Trinity College by Queen Elizabeth's mandate. He became distinguished for the elegance of his Latin epistolary style.

The only other productions of Ascham that have been printed, besides those already mentioned, are a collection of his Latin letters and poems, made by Mr. Grant, master of Westminster School, the first edition of which appeared in 1576, and a Latin tract against the Romish mass, entitled "Apologia pro Cœna Dominica contra Missam et ejus præstigias," said by Anthony Wood to have been published at London in 1577.

His "Schoolmaster" was first published in 4to, at London, in 1571, according to the title-page, but in 1573 according to the colophon, and again, in the same form, in 1589. An edition of the work, in 8vo, with notes by Mr. Upton, appeared in 1711, and a second, much improved, in 1743. It was also printed, along with all Ascham's English works, including some of his letters, till then unpublished, in 4to, in 1767, under the care of the Rev. James Bennet. To this edition, which was reprinted in 8vo, in 1815, with the addition of five letters in English addressed to Sir William Cecil, there is prefixed a life of the author by Dr. Johnson.

The facts contained in the above sketch have been principally taken from the Life of Ascham in the Biographia Britannica, which, again, has been for the most part compiled from a Latin oration by Mr. Grant, prefixed to the Letters and Poems.]

[As an appropriate introduction to Ascham's Schoolmaster, we give here the Letter of Advice and Direction addressed by Cardinal Wolsey to the Masters of Ipswich School, of which he was the founder. In this letter, which is dated 1st September, 1528, the Cardinal lays down a system of teaching, which in its leading principles is very nearly the same with that recommended by Ascham. Indeed, as has been shown by the author of "An Essay on a System of Classical Instruction," (12mo., London, Taylor, 1829,) the method in question appears to have been that which in former times was always followed in teaching Greek and Latin not only in the schools of this country, but in those of the other countries of Europe. The writer to whom we refer remarks, that Wolsey's "charge appears to have been a compilation in great part from the writings of Erasmus," and that "not only the general scheme of its instructions is attributable to this eminent scholar, but whole sentences will be found to have been taken from his works, without the alteration of a single word." The original of the letter is in Latin; but we avail ourselves of the English translation which has been given by the author of the Essay.]

"THOMAS CARDINAL OF YORK, &c. TO THE MASTERS OF IPSWICH SCHOOL, GREETING.

"WE suppose no one to be ignorant with what mental effort, zeal, and industry, we have always directed our labours to this point; not with a view to our own private advantage, but as far as possible to consult the

welfare of our country, and of all our fellow-subjects. In which one object, we consider we shall reap the richest fruit of patriotism, if with divine blessing we should adorn by cultivation the minds of our countrymen. Influenced therefore by a warmth of affection incredibly great towards our birth-place, which claims our exertions by its own right, we have dedicated a school, not wholly without elegance as a building, as the clearest testimony of our perfect love. But since there seemed but little done in having built a school, however magnificent the structure, unless there should be added skilful masters, we have endeavoured by all means to appoint as its presidents two masters duly selected and approved: under whose tuition, the youth of Britain, from their earliest years, might imbibe morality and learning; naturally considering that the hope of the whole state rests on this stage of life, as that of the harvest on the blade of corn. And that this might succeed more happily and early, we have provided with all care, zeal, and diligence, that, in a little treatise on the instruction of boys, you should have the method and plan of teaching principally necessary for this tender age. It will now in turn be your part, who are masters in our new school, here to exercise the boys with diligence in the rudiments of education; that as well in elegance of literature, as in purity of morals, they may advance in due order to higher views. And if you strive after this object as carefully as we shall exhibit the plan before your eyes, you will not only now, while we earnestly favour your pursuits, lay us under obliga-

tion to yourselves; but you will absolutely make us survive on happy terms with all posterity. Farewell.

"From our own palace, Sept. 1, A.D. 1528.

"*In what order boys, admitted into our Academy, should be taught, and what authors should be lessoned to them.*

"METHOD FOR THE FIRST CLASS.

"In the first place, it has been not improperly resolved that our school be divided into eight Classes. The first of these is to contain the less forward boys; who should be diligently exercised in the eight parts of speech; and whose now flexible accent it should be your chief concern to form; making them repeat the elements assigned them, with the most distinct and delicate pronunciation; since raw material may be wrought to any shape whatever; and according to the hint of Horace,

> 'The odours of the wine that first shall stain
> The virgin vessel, it will long retain;'

on which account it were least proper to deprive this time of life of your due care.

"FOR THE SECOND CLASS.

"Next in order, after pupils of this age have made satisfactory progress in the first rudiments, we would wish them to be called into the second form, to practise speaking Latin, and to render into Latin some English proposition; which should not be without point or pertinence; but should contain some piquant or beautiful

sentiment, sufficiently suitable to the capacity of boys. As soon as this is rendered, it should be set down in Roman characters; and you will daily pay attention that each of the whole party have this note-book perfectly correct, and written as fairly as possible with his own hand.

Should you think proper that, besides the rudiments, some author should be given at this tender age, it may be either Lily's *Carmen Monitorium*, or Cato's Precepts; of course with a view of forming the accent.

"FOR THE THIRD CLASS.

"Of authors, who mainly conduce to form a familiar style, pure, terse, and polished, who is more humorous than Æsop? Who more useful than Terence? Both of whom, from the very nature of their subjects, are not without attraction to the age of youth.

"Furthermore, we should not disapprove of your subjoining, for this form, the little book composed by Lily on the genders of nouns.

"FOR THE FOURTH CLASS.

"Again; when you exercise the soldiership of the fourth class, what general would you rather have than Virgil himself, the prince of all poets? Whose majesty of verse it were worth while should be pronounced with due intonation of voice.

"As well adapted to this form, Lily will furnish the past tenses and supines of verbs. But although I confess such things are necessary, yet, as far as possible,

we could wish them so appointed as not to occupy the more valuable part of the day.

"FOR THE FIFTH CLASS.

"And now at length you wish to know what plan of teaching we should here prescribe. Your wish shall be indulged. One point that we think proper to be noticed, as of first importance, is, that the tender age of youth be never urged with severe blows, or harsh threats, or indeed with any sort of tyranny. For by this injurious treatment all sprightliness of genius either is destroyed, or is at any rate considerably damped.

"With regard to what this form should be taught, your principal concern will be to lesson them in some select epistles of Cicero ; as none other seem to us more easy in their style, or more productive of rich copiousness of language.

"FOR THE SIXTH CLASS.

"Moreover, the sixth form seems to require some history, either that of Sallust, or Cæsar's Commentaries. To these might not improperly be added Lily's Syntax ; verbs defective and irregular, in short any you may notice, in the course of reading, as departing from the usual form of declination.

"FOR THE SEVENTH CLASS.

"The party in the seventh form should regularly have in hand either Horace's Epistles, or Ovid's Metamorphoses or Fasti : occasionally composing verse or an epistle of their own. It will also be of very great

importance that they sometimes turn verse into prose, or reduce prose into metre. In order that what is learnt by hearing may not be forgotten, the boy should re-peruse it with you, or with others. Just before retiring to rest he should study something choice, or worthy of remembrance, to repeat to the master the next morning.

"At intervals, attention should be relaxed, and recreation introduced: but recreation of an elegant nature, worthy of polite literature. Indeed, even with his studies pleasure should be so intimately blended, that a boy may think it rather a *game at learning*, than a task. And caution must be used, lest by immoderate exertion the faculties of learners be overwhelmed, or be fatigued by reading very far prolonged: for either way alike there is a fault.

"FOR THE EIGHTH CLASS.

"Lastly, when by exercise of this kind the party has attained to some proficiency in conversation-style, they should be recalled to the higher precepts of grammar; as, for instance, to the figures prescribed by Donatus, to the elegance of Valla, and to any ancient authors whatever in the Latin tongue. In lessoning from these, we would remind you to endeavour to inform yourselves at least on the points it may be proper should be illustrated on each present occasion. For example, when intending to expound at length a comedy of Terence, you may first discuss in few words the Author's rank in life, his peculiar talent, and elegance of style. You may then remark how great the pleasure and utility in-

volved in reading comedies ; of which word you should explain the signification and derivation. Next you may briefly but perspicuously unravel the substance of the plot ; and carefully point out the particular kind of verse. You may afterwards arrange the words in more simple order : and wherever there may appear any remarkable elegance ; any antiquated, new-modelled, or Grecian phrase ; any obscurity of expression ; any point of etymology, whether derivation or composition ; any order of construction rather harsh and confused ; any point of orthography ; any figure of speech, uncommon beauty of style, rhetorical ornament, or proverbial expression ; in short anything proper or improper for imitation, it should be scrupulously noticed to the young party.

"Moreover, you will pay attention that in play-time the party speak with all possible correctness ; sometimes commending the speaker, when a phrase is rather apposite, or improving his expression, when erroneous. Occasionally some pithy subject for a short epistle in their native tongue should be proposed. And, to conclude, you may exhibit, if you please, some formulæ, which serving as a guide, a given theme may conveniently be treated.

"Furnished with these rudiments in our school, boys will easily display the paramount importance of beginning from the best. Do you but now proceed, and enlighten with most honourable studies your well-deserving country."

ROGER ASCHAM'S SCHOOLMASTER.

"The Schoolmaster" is dedicated by Ascham's widow to Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), in an address, in which she states, that she is moved to seek his protection for the work, "well remembering," she says, "how much my said husband was many ways bound unto you, and how gladly and comfortably he used in his life to recognise and report your goodness towards him, leaving with me then his poor widow, and a great sort of orphans, a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I have truly found to me and mine." These expressions countenance what has been handed down as to the indifferent circumstances in which Ascham died.

A preface, from the pen of the author, gives an account of the circumstances in which the work originated. On the 10th of December, 1563, while the Queen was at Windsor Castle during the great plague at London, there met at dinner, in Sir William Cecil's chamber, Sir William himself, Sir William Petre, Sir John Mason, Dr. Wotton, Sir Richard Sackville, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Haddon, Mr. John Astley, Mr. Bernard Hampton, Mr. Nicasius (a Greek from Constantinople), and our author. "Mr. Secretary," says Ascham, "hath this accustomed manner; though his head be never so full

of most weighty affairs of the realm, yet at dinner time he doth seem to lay them always aside; and findeth ever fit occasion to talk pleasantly of other matters, but most gladly of some matter of learning, wherein he will courteously hear the mind of the meanest at his table."

The company had not long sat down, when Cecil mentioned what he termed a strange piece of news that had been brought him that morning, that several of the Eton scholars had run away from the school for fear of a beating. He added, that he wished schoolmasters would use more discretion than many of them did in correcting their pupils, punishing, as they often did, "rather the weakness of nature than the fault of the scholar; whereby many scholars, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning before they know what learning meaneth, and so are made willing to forsake their book, and be glad to be put to any other kind of living."

Some of the company assented to this opinion; others opposed it. Ascham joined those who thought that "children were sooner allured by love, than driven by beating, to attain good learning; wherein," he says, "I was the bolder to say my mind, because Mr. Secretary courteously provoked me thereunto; or else in such a company, and namely in his presence, my wont is to be more willing to use mine ears than to occupy my tongue."

Mr. Wotton, "a man of mild nature, with soft voice, and few words," inclined to the same sentiments. "Mr. Mason, after his manner, was very merry with both parties.... Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Astley, and the rest said very little; only Sir Richard Sackville said nothing at all."

"After dinner," continues Ascham, "I went up to

read with the Queen's Majesty: we read there together in the Greek tongue, as I well remember, that noble oration of Demosthenes against Æschines, for his false dealing in his embassage to King Philip of Macedony." Sir Richard Sackville, who was treasurer of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth, came up soon after, and finding our author in her Majesty's privy chamber, took him by the hand, and led him to a window, where he recurred to the subject they had been discussing, by saying, that he would not for a good deal of money have been absent from the dinner, "where," he added, "though I said nothing, yet I gave as good ear, and do consider as well the talk that passed as any one did there." He then warmly expressed his agreement with what Cecil and Ascham had advanced, instancing what had happened to himself, whom, he said, a foolish schoolmaster, before he was fourteen years old, had so driven with fear of beating from all love of learning, that now, when he knew the difference between having learning and having little, or none at all, he felt it his greatest grief, and found it his greatest hurt, that he had ever fallen into such hands. He then expressed his anxiety that his grandson, Robert Sackville, should for his mishap fare the better, and added, "I hear say you have a son much of his age; we will deal thus together: point you out a schoolmaster, who by your order shall teach my son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year; and beside, you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have."

"This promise," Ascham says, "the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day." They then had some further talk together on the right method of

educating children, which ended in Sackville requesting that our author would put down in writing the chief points of their conversation. The latter attempted to excuse himself from this task "by lack of ability and weakness of body;" but Sir Richard persisted in urging its performance. "I beginning some further excuse," continues Ascham, "suddenly was called to come to the Queen. The night following I slept little, my head was so full of this our former talk, and I so mindful somewhat to satisfy the honest request of so dear a friend. I thought to prepare some little treatise for a New-year's Gift that Christmas; but, as it chanceth to busy builders, so, in building this my poor school-house (the rather because the form of it is somewhat new, and differing from others), the work rose daily higher and wider than I thought it would at the beginning. And though it appear now, and be in very deed but a small cottage, poor for the stuff, and rude for the workmanship, yet in going forward I found the site so good, as I was loth to give it over; but the making so costly outreaching my ability, as many times I wished that some one of those three, my dear friends, with full purses, Sir Thomas Smith, Mr. Haddon, or Mr. Watson, had had the doing of it. Yet, nevertheless, I myself spending gladly that little that I gat at home by good Sir John Cheke, and that I borrowed abroad of my friend Sturmius, beside somewhat that was left me in reversion by my old masters, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see. If the matter be mean, and meanly handled, I pray you bear both with me and it; for never work went up in worse weather, with more lets and stops, than this poor school-house of mine. Westminster-Hall can bear some witness, beside much

weakness of body, but more trouble of mind, by some such sores as grieve me to touch them myself; and therefore I purpose not to open them to others."

What is said about Westminster-Hall here is in allusion to a lawsuit in which Ascham was then, or had lately been involved. To add to all his troubles came the death of Sir Richard Sackville. "When he was gone," continues the author, "my heart was dead; there was not one that wore a black gown for him who carried a heavier heart for him than I; when he was gone, I cast this book away; I could not look upon it but with weeping eyes, in remembering him who was the only setter on to do it, and would have been not only a glad commender of it, but also a sure and certain comfort to me and mine." Almost two years together, he says, the book lay scattered and neglected, and would have been quite given over by him, if the goodness of one (he no doubt means Cecil) had not given him some life and spirit again. "God," he continues, "the mover of goodness, prosper always him and his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine, and, as I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom most justly I may say, and very oft and always gladly I am wont to say, that sweet verse of Sophocles, spoken by Œdipus to worthy Theseus:

*Ἔχω γὰρ ἅ᾽χω διὰ σὲ, κὀκ ἄλλον βροτῶν.**

This hope hath helped me to end this book; which, if he allow, I shall think my labours well employed, and shall not much esteem the misliking of any others."

In writing the book, he states, he has had earnest respect to three special points—truth of religion, honesty

* For whatsoever I have I have through thee, and through none other of living men.

of living, and right order in learning. "In which three ways," he concludes, "I pray God my poor children may diligently walk; for whose sake, as nature moved and reason required, and necessity also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these pains.

"For, seeing at my death I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore, in my lifetime, I thought good to bequeath unto them, in this little book, as in my will and testament, the right way to good learning; which if they follow, with the fear of God, they shall very well come to sufficiency of living.

"I wish also, with all my heart, that young Mr. Robert Sackville may take that fruit of this labour, that his worthy grandfather purposed he should have done; and if any other do take either profit or pleasure hereby, they have cause to thank Mr. Robert Sackville, for whom specially this my Schoolmaster was provided.

"And one thing I would have the reader consider, in reading this book, that because no schoolmaster hath charge of any child before he enter into his school, therefore I, leaving all former care of their good bringing up to wise and good parents, as a matter not belonging to the schoolmaster, I do appoint this my Schoolmaster then and there to begin where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but until the scholar be made able to go to the University, to proceed in logic, rhetoric, and other kind of learning.

"Yet if my Schoolmaster, for love he beareth to his scholar, shall teach him somewhat for his furtherance and better judgment in learning, that may serve him seven years after in the University, he doth his scholar no more wrong, nor deserveth no worse name thereby, than he doth in London, who, selling silk or cloth unto his

friend, doth give him better measure than either his promise or bargain was. Farewell in Christ."

Book I.

The title of the first book of the Schoolmaster describes it as "Teaching the bringing up of Youth;" and it may be said to treat of the general principles according to which the education of children at school ought to be conducted. Much of it has, however, a particular reference to what was then, as it is still, the usual commencement of a liberal education, the study of the Latin tongue.

The author begins by condemning the method pursued in common schools for "the making of Latins," that is, the mode of teaching the writing of Latin by means of books of exercises of the ordinary fashion. He says: "After the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntaxis, by mine advice he shall not use the common order in common schools for making of Latins, whereby the child commonly learneth, first, an evil choice of words (and 'right choice of words,' saith Cæsar, 'is the foundation of eloquence,') then a wrong placing of words, and, lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never, or hardly plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing that hath more either dulled the wits or taken away the will of children from learning, than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latins.

" For the scholar is commonly beat for the making, when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same, the master many times being as ignorant as the child what to say properly and fitly to the matter.

" Two schoolmasters have set forth in print, either of them, a book of such kind of Latins, Horman and Whittington. A child shall learn of the better of them that which, another day, if he be wise and come to judgment, he must be fain to unlearn again.

" There is a way touched in the first book of Cicero de Oratore, which wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latins, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgment both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue soever he doth use.

" The way is this: After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together and chosen out by Sturmius for the capacity of children.

" First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the Letter; then let him construe it into English, so oft as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly. This done thus, let the child, by and by, both construe and parse it over again; so that it may appear that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this, the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place where no man shall prompt

him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then, showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together; and where the child doth well, either in choosing or true placing Tully's words, let the master praise him, and say, 'Here you do well;' for I assure you there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise.

"But if the child miss, either in forgetting a word, or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown, or chide with him, if the child hath done his diligence and used no truantship therein; for I know by good experience, that a child shall take more profit of two faults gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit; for then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him, 'Tully would have used such a word, not this; Tully would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle,' &c.

"In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learned by the scholar in all common schools, which after this sort the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain;

the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not contemn rules, but we gladly teach rules, and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with the scholar's translation, let the master at the first lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example, so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of rules; where the common way used in common schools, to read the grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

"Let your scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discreetly the best allurements you can to encourage him to the same, lest his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some misorderly shift, as to seek to be helped by some other book, or to be prompted by some other scholar, and so go about to beguile you much, and himself more.

"With this way of good understanding the matter, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal, till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

"All this while, by mine advice, the child shall use to speak no Latin; for, as Cicero saith in like matter,

with like words, *Loquendo, malè loqui discunt;* and that excellent learned man G. Budæus, in his Greek commentaries, sore complaineth, that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere unadvisedly did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more all the days of his life afterward, both for readiness in speaking, and also good judgment in writing."

Upon the subject of speaking Latin, the author admits that if children could be brought up in a house or a school in which the Latin tongue was properly and perfectly spoken, then the daily use of speaking would be the best and readiest way to learn the language. But in the best schools in England he contends that no such constant propriety of expression was to be heard. If the object therefore be that the scholar shall learn not only to speak Latin, but to speak it well, our author's opinion is that he will best acquire this faculty by use of writing.

After some time when the scholar is found to perform this first kind of exercise with increasing ease and correctness, he must have longer lessons to translate, and must also be introduced to the second stage in the order of teaching; that is to say, he is to be taught to know and distinguish, both in nouns and verbs, what is *proprium* (literal), and what is *translatum* (metaphorical); what *synonymum* (synonymous), what *diversum* (differing in signification in certain respects); which words are *contraria* (opposite in signification to each other), and which are the most remarkable phrases or idiomatic expressions, throughout the whole passage which forms his lesson. For this purpose he must have a third paper book; in which after he has done his double translation

he must write out and arrange what is to be found in the lesson under each of these heads. Should the passage contain nothing under certain of them, he ought still to enter the head or title: thus, *diversa nulla* (no words differing in signification); *contraria nulla* (no words of opposite signification), &c.

"This diligent translating," says the author, "joined with this heedful marking in the foresaid Epistles, and afterward in some plain Oration of Tully, as *Pro Lege Manilia*, *Pro Archia Poëta*, or in those three *Ad C. Cæsarem*, (he means those three commonly entitled Pro Q. Ligario, Pro Rege Dejotaro, and Pro M. Marcello) shall work such a right choice of words, so strait a framing of sentences, such a true judgment, both to write skilfully and speak wittily, as wise men shall both praise and marvel at."

He then proceeds to the proper subject of this portion of his work, the general manner and temper in which the instruction of youth ought to be conducted:—

"If your scholar do miss sometimes, in marking rightly these foresaid six things, chide not hastily; for that shall both dull his wit, and discourage his diligence: but monish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend, and glad to go forward in love, and hope of learning.

"I have now wished twice or thrice this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster. And that I have done so, neither by chance nor without some reason, I will now declare at large why in mine opinion love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning.

"With the common use of teaching, and beating in common schools of England, I will not greatly contend; which if I did, it were but a small grammatical contro-

versy, neither belonging to heresy nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the prince; although in very deed, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children, doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole country, as any one thing doth beside.

"I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points; to have children brought to good perfectness in learning, to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice severely corrected. But for the order and way that leadeth rightly to these points, we somewhat differ; for commonly many schoolmasters, some as I have seen, more as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as when they meet with a hard-witted scholar, they rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him. For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar; and though he himself should be punished for his folly, yet must he beat some scholar for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholar to deserve so.

"These, ye will say, be fond schoolmasters, and few they be, that be found to be such. They be fond, indeed, but surely over many such be found every where. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters do as oft punish nature, as they do correct faults. Yea, many times the better nature is sorer punished. For, if one by quickness of wit take his lesson readily, another by hardness of wit taketh it not so speedily; the first is always commended; the other is commonly punished: when a wise schoolmaster should rather discreetly consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not

so much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading of books in my study, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those which be commonly the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to think, be these few which I will reckon.

"Quick wits commonly be apt to take, unapt to keep; soon hot, and desirous of this and that; as soon cold, and weary of the same again; more quick to enter speedily, than able to pierce far; even like our sharp tools, whose edges be very soon turned. Such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wits commonly may prove the best poets, but not the wisest orators: ready of tongue to speak boldly, not deep of judgment, either for good counsel, or wise writing. Also for manners and life, quick wits commonly be, in desire, new-fangled; in purpose, unconstant, light to promise anything, ready to forget everything, both benefit and injury; and thereby neither fast to friend, nor fearful to foe; inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in the greatest affairs; bold with any person; busy in every matter; soothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent: of nature also always flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiors; and by quickness of wit, very quick and ready to like none so well as themselves.

"Moreover, commonly, men very quick of wit be also very light of conditions; and thereby very ready of disposition to be carried over quickly by any light company to any riot and unthriftiness when they be young;

and therefore seldom either honest of life, or rich in living when they be old. For quick in wit, and light in manners, be either seldom troubled, or very soon weary in carrying a very heavy purse. Quick wits also be in most part of all their doings over quick, hasty, rash, heady, and brainsick. These two last words, *heady* and *brainsick*, be fit and proper words, rising naturally of the matter, and termed aptly by the condition of over-much quickness of wit. In youth also they be ready scoffers, privy mockers, and ever over light and merry: in age, soon testy, very waspish, and always over miserable. And yet few of them come to any great age, by reason of their misordered life when they were young; but a great deal fewer of them come to show any great countenance, or bear any great authority abroad in the world; but either live obscurely, men know not how, or die obscurely, men mark not when.

"They be like trees, that show forth fair blossom and broad leaves in spring time, but bring out small and not long-lasting fruit in harvest time; and that only such as fall and rot before they be ripe, and so never or seldom come to any good at all. For this you shall find most true by experience, that amongst a number of quick wits in youth, few be found in the end either very fortunate for themselves, or very profitable to serve the commonwealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way; except a very few, to whom peradventure blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage. The which felicity, because it cometh by others' procuring, not by their own deserving, and stands by other men's feet, and not by their own, what outward brag soever is borne by them, is indeed of itself, and in wise men's eyes, of no great estimation."

The author here gives it as his opinion, that there are certain sciences by the over-much study and use of which "some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred." The sciences against which he thus warns moderate wits are music (in which he is said to have been himself a proficient), arithmetic, and geometry. "These sciences," he says, "as they sharpen men's wits overmuch, so they change men's manners over sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all mathematical heads, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the world." In support of this notion he quotes Galen, Plato, and Cicero, as all condemning much music, on the ground that it "marreth men's manners;" and he refers to what he had himself written more at large on the matter, twenty years ago, in his Book of Shooting. The passage in the Toxophilus is curious as giving the grounds on which Ascham appears to have taken up these opinions. He there observes that "lutes, harps, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments, every one which standeth by fine and quick fingering, be condemned of Aristotle, as not to be brought in and used among them which study for learning and virtue." Music, he thinks, doth to a man's mind, "as honey doth to a man's stomach, which at the first receiveth it well, but afterward it maketh it unfit to abide any strong nourishing meat, or else any wholesome, sharp, and quick drink. And even so in a manner these instruments make a man's wit so soft and smooth, so tender and quaisy, that they be less able to brook strong and tough study. Wits be not sharpened, but rather dulled,

and made blunt with such sweet softness, even as good edges be blunted, which men whet upon soft chalk stones."

In the present work he contends, generally, that "overmuch quickness of wit, either given by nature, or sharpened by study, doth not commonly bring forth either greatest learning, best manners, or happiest life in the end." The sense in which he makes this proposition, as well as the reasons by which he defends it, will be understood from the passage that follows:—

"Contrarywise, a wit in youth that is not over dull, heavy, knotty, and lumpish; but hard, tough, and though somewhat staffish, (as Tully wisheth *otium quietum non languidum*, and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo*,)* such a wit, I say, if it be at the first well handled by the mother, and rightly smoothed and wrought as it should, not overthwartly and against the wood by the schoolmaster, both for learning and whole course of living, proveth always the best. In wood and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be always aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit. Hard wits be hard to receive, but sure to keep; painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without newfangleness; bearing heavy things, though not lightly, yet willingly; entering hard things, though not easily, yet deeply; and so come to that perfectness of learning in the end, that quick wits seem in hope, but do not in deed, or else very seldom, ever attain unto.

"Also for manners and life, hard wits commonly are hardly carried, either to desire every new thing, or else

* *i. e.* leisure which is quiet, but not languid; and business attended with exertion, but not with danger.

to marvel at every strange thing. And therefore they be careful and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busy in other men's affairs; and so they become wise themselves, and also are counted honest by others. They be grave, steadfast, silent of tongue, secret of heart; not hasty in making, but constant in keeping any promise; not rash in uttering, but wary in considering every matter; and thereby not quick in speaking, but deep of judgment, whether they write or give counsel in all weighty affairs. And these be the men that become in the end both most happy for themselves, and also always best esteemed abroad in the world.

"I have been longer in describing the nature, the good or ill success of the quick and hard wits, than perchance some will think this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby plainly to utter what injury is offered to all learning, and to the commonwealth also, first by the fond father in choosing, but chiefly by the lewd* schoolmaster in beating and driving away the best natures from learning. A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholar, or else when he cometh to the school, he is smally regarded, little looked unto; he lacketh teaching, he lacketh encouraging, he lacketh all things; only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living.

"And when this sad-natured, and hard-witted child is beat from his book, and becometh after either student of the common law, or page in the court, or servingman, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to some han-

* *i. e.* the intemperate.

dicraft, he proveth in the end wiser, happier, and many times honester too, than many of these quick wits do by their learning.

"Learning is both hindered and injured too by the ill choice of them that send young scholars to the Universities, of whom must needs come all our divines, lawyers, and physicians.

"These young scholars be chosen commonly, as young apples be chosen by children in a fair garden, about St. James tide. A child will choose a sweeting, because it is presently fair and pleasant, and refuse a runnet, because it is then green, hard, and sour; when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both worms and ill humours; the other, if it stand his time, be ordered and kept as it should, is wholesome of itself, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meats. Sweetings will receive worms, rot, and die on the tree, and never or seldom come to the gathering for good and lasting store.

"For very grief of heart I will not apply the similitude; but hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of the best wits, first, by the great beating, and after by the ill choosing of scholars to go to the Universities: whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the great hurt of learning, and shame of learned men, that 'the greatest clerks be not the wisest men.'

"And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainly to prefer hard and rough wits, before quick and light wits, both for learning and manners; yet I am not ignorant that some quickness of wit is a singular gift of God, and so most rare among men: and, namely, such a wit as is quick without lightness, sharp without brittleness,

desirous of good things without newfangleness, diligent in painful things without wearisomeness, and constant in good will to do all things well; as I know was in Sir John Cheke, and is in some that yet live, in whom all these fair qualities of wit are fully met together.

"But it is notable and true, that Socrates saith in Plato to his friend Phædo, 'That that number of men is fewest, which far exceed, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folly; but the mean betwixt both be the greatest number.' Which he proveth true in divers other things; as in greyhounds, amongst which few are found exceeding great, or exceeding little, exceeding swift, or exceeding slow. And, therefore, speaking of quick and hard wits, I meant the common number of quick and hard wits; amongst the which, for the most part, the hard wit proveth many times the better learned, wiser, and honester man. And therefore do I the more lament that such wits commonly be either kept from learning by fond fathers, or beat from learning by lewd schoolmasters."

The author proceeds to say that he might here declare "the most special notes of a good wit for learning in a child, after the manner and custom of a good horseman, who is skilful to know, and able to tell others, how by certain sure signs a man may choose a colt that is like to prove another day excellent for the saddle." "And it is a pity," he adds, with keen and indignant sarcasm, "that commonly more care is had, yea and that among very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse, than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in a word, but they do so in deed; for to the one they will gladly give a stipend of two hundred crowns by the year, and loth to offer to the other two

hundred shillings. God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should. For he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horses, but wild and unfortunate children; and therefore in the end they find more pleasure in their horses, than comfort in their children."

Instead, however, of giving his own opinion as to the true marks of promise in a child, he prefers reporting "the judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of," namely, Socrates, as his words are recorded by Plato, in the seventh book of his Republic. From what Socrates says, he extracts "seven true notes of a good wit," which he explains in succession.

First, the child must be Ἐυφυὴς, that is, "apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning." Among such qualifications, Ascham lays great stress upon a comely countenance and a goodly stature; and he laments that fathers, when out of several sons they have one that is lame or deformed, are too apt to put that one to learning, "as good enough to become a scholar." He hints that the civil magistrate ought to interfere to prevent this abuse.

Secondly, the child ought to be Μνήμων, which he interprets "good of memory." This he says is "so principal a note, as without it all other gifts of nature do small service to learning." "And though," he adds, "it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memory well preserved by use, and much increased by order, as our scholar must learn another day in the University. But in a child a good memory is well known by three properties;

that is, if it be quick in receiving, sure in keeping, and ready in delivering forth again."

The third note is that he be Φιλομαθὴς, that is, "given to love learning, for though a child have all the gifts of nature at wish, and perfection of memory at will, yet if he have not a special love to learning he shall never attain to much learning." "Isocrates," he adds, "did cause to be written at the entry of his school in golden letters this golden sentence, Ἐὰν ᾖς Φιλομαθὴς, ἔσῃ πολυμαθὴς: which excellently said in Greek, is thus rudely in English: "If thou love learning, thou shalt attain to much learning.""

Fourthly, the child should be Φιλόπονος, that is, should have "a lust to labour, and a will to take pains; for if a child have all the benefits of nature, with perfection of memory, love, like, and praise learning never so much; yet if he be not of himself painful, he shall never attain unto it. And yet where love is present, labour is seldom absent, and namely in study of learning, and matter of the mind."

Fifthly, he must be Φιλήκοος, that is, "glad to hear and learn of another; for otherwise he shall stick with great trouble, where he might go easily forward; and also catch hardly a very little by his own toil, when he might gather quickly a good deal by another man's teaching."

The sixth mark is that he be Ζητητικὸς, that is, "naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt; not ashamed to learn of the meanest, nor afraid to go to the greatest, until he be perfectly taught and fully satisfied."

Lastly the author (employing, however, a word which is not in Plato) enumerates as one of the charac-

teristics demanded in the child by Socrates, that he be Φιλέπαινος, that is, one "that loveth to be praised for well doing at his father or master's hand."

"And thus," he concludes, "by Socrates' judgment, a good father and a wise schoolmaster should choose a child to make a scholar of, that hath by nature the foresaid perfect qualities and comely furniture both of mind and body; hath memory quick to receive, sure to keep, and ready to deliver; hath love to learning; hath lust to labour; hath desire to learn of others; hath boldness to ask any question; hath mind wholly bent to win praise by well doing. The two first of these qualities he considers to be special benefits of nature, yet to be preserved and much increased by discipline. The five last are to be wholly won and maintained by the wisdom and discretion of the schoolmaster. "Which five points," he proceeds, "whether a schoolmaster shall work sooner in a child by fearful beating, or courteous handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise indeed, but, in this matter, more by severity of nature than any wisdom at all, do laugh at us when we thus wish and reason, that young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love, than compelled to learning by beating and fear. They say, "our reasons serve only to breed forth talk, and pass away the time; but we never saw good schoolmasters do so, nor never read of wise men that thought so."

In opposition to this doctrine, Ascham quotes from Plato the precept of Socrates, that no learning ought to be learnt with bondage. "And why?" he adds of himself, "For whatsoever the mind doth learn unwillingly with fear, the same it doth gladly forget without care."

He goes on to show that it is expressly of the teaching of children that Socrates in the passage quoted speaks. He then proceeds as follows:—"Fond schoolmasters neither can understand, nor will follow this good counsel of Socrates; but wise riders in their office can, and will, do both; which is the only cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so unwillingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed, fond schoolmasters by fear do beat into them the hatred for learning; and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools, they feel liberty and freedom in stables; which causes them utterly to abhor the one, and most gladly to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade young gentlemen from the other: yea I am sorry with all my heart that they be given no more to riding than they be. For of all outward qualities, to ride fair is most comely for himself, most necessary for his country; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceed all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen, the old Persians: 'Always to say truth, to ride fair, and shoot well;' and so it was engraven upon Darius' tomb, as Strabo witnesseth:—

> Darius the king lieth buried here,
> Who in riding and shooting had never peer."

He next takes up an objection which may be brought against his argument: "Yet some will say that children of nature love pastime, and mislike learning, because in their kind the one is easy and pleasant, the other hard and wearisome. Which is an opinion not so true as some men ween. For the matter lieth not so much

in the disposition of them that be young, as in the order and manner of bringing up by them that be old; nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime. For beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book; knock him always when he draweth his shaft ill, and favour him again though he fault at his book, ye shall have him very loth to be in the field, and very willing to go to school. Yea, I say more, and not of myself, but by the judgment of those, from whom few wise men will gladly dissent,—that if ever the nature of man be given at any time, more than other, to receive goodness, it is in innocency of young years, before that experience of evil have taken root in him. For the pure clean wit of a sweet young babe is like the newest wax, most able to receive the best and fairest printing; and like a new bright silver dish never occupied, to receive and keep clean any good thing that is put into it."

Some further illustration follows of the facility with which impressions, whether good or evil, may be made upon the youthful mind; and then comes a passage too interesting not to be given in full:—

"And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report, which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit.

"Before I went into Germany, I came to Brodegate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her parents, the Duke and Duchess, with all the household, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading 'Phædo

Platonis,' in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me: 'I wist, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly, as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing while I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it all

other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me.'

"I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady."

For a perfect discussion of this part of his subject, Ascham refers the reader to the treatise 'De Institutione Principis,' (On the Education of a Prince,) addressed by his friend John Sturmius to the Duke of Cleves. Although, however, he is for the use of gentleness rather than severity in the instruction of youth at school, he does not dispute the necessity of sharp chastisement by parents for correcting vicious habits in their children. "This discipline," he says, "was well known and diligently used among the Grecians and old Romans; as doth appear in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato, and also in the comedies of Plautus; where we see that children were under the rule of three persons, a schoolmaster, governor, and father. The schoolmaster taught him learning with all gentleness; the governor corrected his manners with much sharpness; the father held the stern of his whole obedience. And so he that used to teach did not commonly use to beat, but remitted that over to another man's charge. But what shall we say, when now in our days the schoolmaster is used both for preceptor in learning, and pædagogus in manners? Surely, I would he should not confound their offices, but discreetly use the duty of both, so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished, nor gentleness in teaching anywise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wisely he do appoint diversity of time, and separate place, for either purpose; using always such

discreet moderation, as 'the school-house should be counted a sanctuary against fear; and very well learning a common pardon for ill doing, if the fault of itself be not over heinous.'"

The author considers the second great fault of English education in his time to be the licence that was allowed to young men after leaving school. He contrasts with the prevailing manners, the more strict discipline of wise antiquity, when, for instance, "no son, were he never so old in years, never so great in birth, though he were a king's son, might marry but by his father's and mother's consent." Having quoted to this effect the examples of Cyrus and Sampson, he exclaims: "Doth this modesty, doth this obedience that was in great King Cyrus, and strong Sampson, remain in our young men at this day? No surely, for we live not longer after them by time, than we live far different from them by good order. Our time is so far from that old discipline and obedience, as now not only young gentlemen, but even very girls, dare without all fear, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marry themselves in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all." This evil, he says, is peculiar to the children of the rich and great, as they deserve it should be. From seven to seventeen, young gentlemen are carefully enough brought up; but from seventeen to seven-and-twenty, (which Xenophon calls the most dangerous time of all man's life, and most slippery to stay well in,) "they have commonly the rein of all licence in their own hand, and specially such as do live in the court." "And that," he adds, "which is most to be marvelled at, commonly the wisest, and also best men, be found the fondest

fathers in this behalf. And if some good father will seek some remedy herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our lady) had rather, yea, and will have her son cunning and bold, in making him to live trimly, when he is young, than by learning and travel to be able to serve his prince and his country, both wisely in peace, and stoutly in war, when he is old.

"The fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonly the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellors, and greatest doers in the weighty affairs of this realm. And why? for God will have it so of his providence, because you will have it no otherwise by your negligence.

"And God is a good God, and wisest in all his doings, that will place virtue, and displace vice in those kingdoms where he doth govern. 'For he knoweth that nobility, without virtue and wisdom, is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews; and so of itself, without the other, very weak to bear the burthen of weighty affairs.'

"The greatest ship indeed commonly carrieth the greatest burthen, but yet always with the greatest jeopardy, not only for the persons and goods committed unto it, but even for the ship itself, except it be governed with the greater wisdom.

"But Nobility, governed by learning and wisdom, is indeed most like a fair ship, having tide and wind at will, under the rule of a skilful master; when contrariwise, a ship carried, yea with the highest tide and greatest wind, lacking a skilful master, most commonly doth either sink itself upon sands, or break itself upon rocks. And even so, how many have been either drowned in vain pleasure, or overwhelmed by stout wil-

fulness, the histories of England be able to afford over many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and noblemen's children, if ye will have rightly that praise, and enjoy surely that place, which your fathers have, and elders had, and left unto you, ye must keep it, as they gat it; and that is, by the only way of virtue, wisdom, and worthiness."

In some passages that follow, the manners of the court, and the habits of thinking and judging that prevailed there, are very severely reprobated. There were then, indeed, the author allows, many fair examples in the English court for young gentlemen to follow; "but they be," he says, "like fair marks in the field, out of a man's reach, too far off to shoot at well." Young gentlemen who come to court are commonly obliged to associate with the worst description of characters there. These are they who laugh at quietness of nature as simpleness and lack of wit, and at bashful and blushing modesty as babyishness and ill-breeding. What is learned from their company is, first, to blush at nothing; "then followeth to dare do any mischief; to contemn stoutly any goodness; to be busy in every matter; to be skilful in every thing; to acknowledge no ignorance at all." "Moreover," he continues, "where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawn, flatter, laugh, and lie lustily at other men's liking; to face, stand foremost, shove back; and to the meaner man, or unknown in the court, to seem somewhat solemn, coy, big, and dangerous of look, talk, and answer; to think well of himself, to be lusty in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privy mock: and, in greater presence, to bear a brave look; to be warlike, though he never looked enemy in the face in war; yet some warlike sign must be used,

either a slovenly buskin, or an over-staring frounced head, as though out of every hair's top should suddenly start out a good big oath when need requireth. Yet, praised be God! England hath at this time many worthy captains and good soldiers, which be indeed so honest of behaviour, so comely of conditions, so mild of manners, as they may be examples of good order to a good sort of others, which never came in war."

We must add still another of our author's lively and graphic sketches of the court blackguardism of his time: "And if some Smithfield ruffian rake up some strange going, some new mowing with the mouth, some wrenching with the shoulder, some brave proverb, some fresh new oath, that is not stale but will run round in the mouth; some new-disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in fashion or garish in colour, whatsoever it cost, how small soever his living be, by what shift soever it be gotten, gotten must it be, and used with the first, or else the grace of it is stale and gone. Some part of this graceless grace was described by me in a little rude verse long ago:

"To laugh, to lie, to flatter, to face,
Four ways in court to win men's grace.
If thou be thrall to none of these,
Away, good Peekgoose, hence, John Cheese.
Mark well my word, and mark their deed,
And think this verse part of my creed."

But Ascham complains that these disorders were not confined to the court; "for commonly," he says, "in the country also every where, innocency is gone, bashfulness is vanished; much presumption in youth, small authority in age; reverence is neglected, duties be confounded; and, to be short, disobedience doth overflow the banks

of good order almost in every place, almost in every degree of man."

Something, he considers, may be done to remedy these evils by good laws; but the object is perhaps chiefly to be effected by "observing private discipline, every man carefully in his own house; and namely, if special regard be had to youth, and that not so much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that that is ill." "In youth," he says, "some ignorance is as necessary as much knowledge;" "but this ignorance in youth," he adds, "which I speak on, or rather this simplicity, or most truly this innocency, is that which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testify, were so careful to breed up their youth in. But Christian fathers commonly do not so. And I will tell you a tale as much to be misliked as the Persian's example is to be followed.

"This last summer I was in a gentleman's house, where a young child, somewhat past four years old, could in nowise frame his tongue to say a little short grace, and yet he could roundly rap out so many ugly oaths, and those of the newest fashion, as some good man of fourscore year old hath never heard named before; and that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother would laugh at it. I much doubt what comfort another day this child shall bring unto them. This child, using much the company of serving-men, and giving good ear to their talk, did easily learn which he shall hardly forget all the days of his life hereafter. So likewise in the court, if a young gentleman will venture himself into the company of ruffians, it is over great a jeopardy lest their fashions, manners, thoughts, talk, and deeds, will very soon be over like.

'The confounding of companies breedeth confusion of good manners both in the court and every where else.'"

Having then fortified these opinions by quoting the account given by Isocrates of the care that was taken in the noble city of Athens, to bring up their youth in honest company and virtuous discipline, he proceeds in the following animated strain:

"And to know what worthy fruit did spring of such worthy seed, I will tell you the most marvel of all, and yet such a truth as no man shall deny it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

"Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youth, did breed up, within the circuit of that one city, within the compass of one hundred years, within the memory of one man's life, so many notable captains in war, for worthiness, wisdom, and learning, as be scarce matchable, no not in the state of Rome, in the compass of those seven hundred years when it flourished most.

"And because I will not only say it, but also prove it, the names of them be these—Miltiades, Themistocles, Xantippus, Pericles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius, and divers others more; of which every one may justly be spoken that worthy praise which was given to Scipio Africanus, who Cicero doubteth 'whether he were more noble captain in war, or more eloquent and wise counsellor in peace.' And if ye believe not me, read diligently Æmilius Probus* in Latin, and Plutarch in Greek, which two had no cause either to flatter or lie upon any of those which I have recited.

"And beside nobility in war, for excellent and match-

* He means the lives now commonly held to be written by Cornelius Nepos.

less masters in all manner of learning, in that one city, in memory of one age, were more learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all time doth remember, than all place doth afford, than all other tongues do contain. And I do not mean of those authors which by injury of time, by negligence of men, by cruelty of fire and sword, be lost, but even of those which by God's grace are left yet unto us, of which, I thank God, even my poor study lacketh not one. As in philosophy, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclid, and Theophrast; in eloquence and civil law, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides; in history, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and which we lack, to our great loss, Theopompus and Ephorus; in poetry, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and somewhat of Menander, Demosthenes' sister's son.

"Now let Italian, and Latin itself, Spanish, French, Dutch [German is meant], and English, bring forth their learning and recite their authors, Cicero only excepted, and one or two more in Latin, they be all patched clouts and rags in comparison of fair woven broadcloths; and truly, if there be any good in them, it is either learned, borrowed, or stolen from some of those worthy wits of Athens.

"The remembrance of such a commonwealth, using such discipline and order for youth, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leaving to us for our example, such captains for war, such counsellors for peace, and matchless masters for all kind of learning, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksome, I trust, for others to hear, except it be such as make neither account of virtue nor learning.

"And whether there be any such or no, I cannot well tell; yet I hear say, some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned, and perchance they count it their shame to be counted honest also, for I hear say they meddle as little with the one as with the other. A marvellous case, that gentlemen should be so ashamed of good learning, and never a whit ashamed of ill manners! Such do say for them, that the gentlemen of France do so; which is a lie, as God will have it. Langæus and Bellæus, that be dead, and the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is alive, and infinite more in France which I hear tell of, prove this to be most false. And though some in France, which will needs be gentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more gentleship in their hat than in their head, be at deadly feud with both learning and honesty; yet I believe, if that noble prince, King Francis the First, were alive, they should have neither place in his court nor pension in his wars, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plain Turkish, from whence some French fetch more faults than this, which I pray God keep out of England, and send also those of ours better minds, which bend themselves against virtue and learning, to the contempt of God, dishonour of their country, to the hurt of many others, and at length to the greatest harm and utter destruction of themselves.

"Some others, having better nature, but less wit (for ill commonly have overmuch wit), do not utterly dispraise learning, but they say, that, without learning, common experience, knowledge of all fashions, and haunting all companies, shall work in youth both wisdom and ability to execute any weighty affair. Surely long experience doth profit much, but most, and almost only to

him (if we mean honest affairs) that is diligently before instructed with precepts of well-doing. For good precepts of learning be the eyes of the mind, to look wisely before a man which way to go right, and which not.

"Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty; and learning teacheth safely, when experience maketh more miserable than wise. He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience. An unhappy master is he that is made cunning by many shipwrecks; a miserable merchant, that is neither rich nor wise but after some bankrouts. It is costly wisdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itself, that it is a marvellous pain to find out a short way but by long wandering; and surely he that would prove wise by experience, he may be witty indeed, but even like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of the way, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verily they be fewest in number that be wise by unlearned experience. And look well upon the former life of those few, whether your example be old or young, who, without learning, have gathered by long experience a little wisdom and some happiness; and when you do consider what mischief they have committed, what dangers they have escaped (and yet twenty for one do perish in the adventure), then think well with yourself whether ye would that your own son should come to wisdom and happiness by the way of such experience or no.

"It is a notable tale, that old Sir Roger Chamloe, some time Chief-Justice, would tell of himself. When he was Ancient in inn of court, certain young gentlemen were brought before him, to be corrected for certain misorders; and one of the lustiest said, 'Sir, we be young gentlemen; and wise men before us have proved all

fashions, and yet those have done full well.' This they said, because it was well known that Sir Roger had been a goodfellow in his youth. But he answered them very wisely. 'Indeed,' saith he, 'in youth I was as you are now; and I had twelve fellows like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good end. And therefore, follow not my example in youth, but follow my counsel in age, if ever ye think to come to this place or to these years that I am come unto, lest ye meet either with poverty or Tyburn in the way.'"

Although thus jealous, however, of the effects of teaching by experience, and earnestly in favour of the method of at least laying the foundations of knowledge in the young mind chiefly by learning and good bringing up, Ascham would by no means have the whole time of youth to be spent in study.

"I do not mean," he says, "by all this my talk, that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies should lose honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime; I mean nothing less. For it is well known that I both like and love, and have always, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes that be fit for my nature and ability. And beside natural disposition, in judgment also I was never either Stoic in doctrine or Anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merry, pleasant, and playful nature, if no outrage be committed against law, measure, and good order."

He would wish that "young gentlemen should use and delight in all courtly exercises and gentlemanlike pastimes." "Therefore," he continues, "to ride comely, to run fair at the tilt or ring, to play at all weapons, to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun, to vault lustily, to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim, to dance comely,

to sing and play on instruments cunningly, to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally which be joined with labour used in open place, and on the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use.

"But of all kinds of pastimes fit for a gentleman, I will, God willing, in fitter place, more at large declare fully, in my 'Book of the Cockpit,' which I do write to satisfy some, I trust with some reason, that be more curious in marking other men's doings than careful in mending their own faults. And some also will needs busy themselves in marvelling, and adding thereto unfriendly talk, why I, a man of good years, and of no ill place, I thank God and my prince, do make choice to spend such time in writing of trifles, as 'The School of Shooting,' 'The Cockpit,' and this Book of the first principles of Grammar, rather than to take some weighty matter in hand, either of religion or civil discipline."

Wise men, he says, will well allow of his choice in this matter; and as for such who have not wit of themselves, but must learn of others to judge right of men's doings, he refers them to Horace's precept in his Art of Poetry, to beware of high and lofty titles. Ascham may be supposed to insinuate, that though his books might seem from their titles to treat only on frivolous subjects, their substance would be found to be beyond the promise thus held out. "And thus much," he concludes, "out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending pen, and paper, and time upon trifles; and namely to answer some that have neither wit nor learning to do anything themselves, neither will nor honesty to say well of others."

Returning to the subject of joining learning with comely exercises, he highly recommends the work of Conto Baldesar Castiglione, entitled "Il Cortigiano," (the Courtier,) as excellently translated into English by Sir Thomas Hobby, "which book," says he, "advisedly read and diligently followed but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wiss, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy." "But the English court," he adds, "has never lacked many fine examples for young gentlemen to follow." Among these he mentions the late King Edward, "and in the second degree, two noble prim-roses of nobility, the young Duke of Suffolk and Lord Henry Malavers," who, he says, "were two such examples to the court for learning, as our time may rather wish than look for again." At St. John's College, Cambridge, also, he commemorates Sir John Cheke and Dr. Redmayn as having, in his time, done more by their example than the good statutes of the college themselves did "to breed up learned men, of whom there were so many," says he, "in that one College of St. John's, at one time, as I believe the whole University of Louvain, in many years, was never able to afford."

He then proceeds: "Present examples of this present time I list not to touch; yet there is one example for all the gentlemen of this court to follow, that may well satisfy them, or nothing will serve them, nor no example move them to goodness and learning.

"It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England), that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much good

will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the Queen's Majesty herself. Yea I believe, that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy chamber, she hath obtained that excellency of learning to understand, speak, and write both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the Universities have in many years reached unto. Amongst all the benefits that God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning in this most excellent Prince; whose only example, if the rest of our nobility would follow, then might England be, for learning and wisdom in nobility, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men; the best examples have never such force to move to any goodness, as the bad, vain, light, and fond have to all illness."

We do not know to whom the allusion in the passage that follows points, unless it be to King Henry the Eighth.

"And one example, though out of the compass of learning, yet not out of the order of good manners, was notable in this court not fully twenty-four years ago; when all the acts of parliament, many good proclamations, divers strait commandments, sore punishments openly, special regard privately, could not do so much to take away one misorder, as the example of one big

one of this court did still to keep up the same: the memory whereof doth yet remain in a common proverb of Birching Lane.

"Take heed, therefore, ye great ones in the Court, yea though ye be the greatest of all, take heed what ye do, take heed how ye live, for as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do. You be indeed makers, or marrers, of all men's manners within the realm."

Ascham would have even the dress of the different classes of society to be regulated by law. "If," he says, "three or four great ones in court will needs outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours; let the prince proclaim, make laws, order, punish, command every gate in London daily to be watched; let all good men beside do everywhere what they can: surely the misorder of apparel in mean men abroad shall never be amended, except the greatest in court will order and mend themselves first. I know some great and good ones in court were authors that honest citizens in London should watch at every gate to take misordered persons in apparel; I know that honest Londoners did so; and I saw (which I saw then, and report now with some grief) that some courtly men were offended with these good men of London. And hat which grieved me most of all, I saw the very same time, for all these good orders commanded from the court, and executed in London, I saw, I say, come out of London, even unto the presence of the prince, a great rabble of mean and light persons in apparel, for matter against law, for making against order, for fashion, namely hose, so without all order, as he thought himself most brave that durst do most in breaking order, and was most monstrous in misorder. And for all the

great commandments that came out of the court, yet this bold misorder was winked at, and borne with in the court. I thought it was not well, that some great ones of the court durst declare themselves offended with good men of London for doing their duty; and the good ones of the court would not show themselves offended with ill men of London for breaking good order."

Such passages as these are curious, as illustrations of ancient manners; and we have for that reason preserved them in our abstract, though having little or no bearing upon the business of the Schoolmaster, at least in the present day. The author goes on to contend that the great ought to set an example to the rest of the nation in other things, as well as in propriety of dress. For instance, "if but two or three noblemen in the court," he says, "would but begin to shoot, all young gentlemen, the whole court, all London, the whole realm, would straightway exercise shooting."

Returning from this digression, the author states the sum of what he has hitherto delivered to be, "that from seven year old to seventeen, love is the best allurement to learning; from seventeen to seven-and-twenty, that wise men should carefully see the steps of youth surely staid by good order, in that most slippery time, and specially in the court;" and he then proceeds as follows:—

"Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the Queen's privy chamber at Windsor, after he had talked with me for the right choice of good wit in a child for learning; and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits; of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning; and of the special care that was to be had to keep young men from licentious living; he was most

earnest with me to have me say my mind also what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority and good will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me to satisfy his pleasure with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I take going thither, and living there, for a young gentleman, that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man as both by wisdom can, and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous.'

"And why I said so then, I will declare at large now, which I said then privately, and write now openly; not because I do contemn either the knowledge of strange and divers tongues, and namely the Italian tongue, (which next the Greek and Latin tongue, I like and love above all other,) or else because I do despise the learning that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in strange countries; or for any private malice that I bear to Italy; which country, and in it namely Rome, I have always specially honoured, because time was when Italy and Rome have been, to the great good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well doing, in all civil affairs, that ever was in the world. But now that time is gone, and though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do differ as far as black and white, as virtue and vice."

Ascham then launches into a long invective against the manners of Italy, and what he calls "the enchantments of Circe," by which Englishmen are in danger of being corrupted in that country. But we shall not follow him through this declamation, which in general

has comparatively little interest for the modern reader. One or two personal reminiscences only, which it contains, may deserve to be extracted. "In our forefathers' time," says the author in one place, "when papistry as a standing pool covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said, for pastime and pleasure." Among these he instances "La Mort d'Arthure," the character of which work he draws in no very flattering colours. "Yet," he adds, "I know when God's Bible was banished the court, and 'La Mort d'Arthure' received into the prince's chamber." The prince here meant must, we suppose, be King Henry the Eighth. The following notice of the author's visit to Venice afterwards occurs:

"I was once in Italy myself, but, I thank God, my abode there was but nine days; and yet I saw in that little time, in one city, more liberty to sin than ever I heard tell of in our noble city of London in nine years. I saw it was there as free to sin, not only without all punishment, but also without any man's marking, as it is free in the city of London to choose, without all blame, whether a man lust to wear shoe or pantocle. And good cause why; for being unlike in truth of religion, they must needs be unlike in honesty of living. For blessed be Christ, in our city of London, commonly the commandments of God be more diligently taught, and the service of God more reverently used, and that daily in many private men's houses, than they be in Italy once a week in their common churches; where masking ceremonies to delight the eye, and vain sounds to please the ear, do quite thrust out of the churches all service of God in spirit and truth. Yea, the Lord

Mayor of London being but a civil officer, is commonly for his time more diligent in punishing sin, the bent enemy against God and good order, than all the bloody inquisitors in Italy be in seven years. For their care and charge is not to punish sin, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but only to watch and oversee that Christ's true religion set no sure footing where the Pope hath any jurisdiction."

Having apologized for this digression, Ascham concludes his first book as follows: "But to my matter; as I began plainly and simply with my young scholar, so will I not leave him, God willing, until I have brought him a perfect scholar out of the school, and placed him in the University, to become a fit student for logic, and rhetoric, and so after to physic, law, or divinity, as aptness of nature, advice of friends, and God's disposition shall lead him."

Book II.

The second book of the "Schoolmaster" professes in its title to teach "the ready way to the Latin tongue." It commences as follows:—

"After that your scholar, as I said before, shall come in deed, first to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skilful choice in marking out his six points; as,

1. Proprium,
2. Translatum,
3. Synonymum,
4. Contrarium,
5. Diversum,
6. Phrases;

then take this order with him: read daily unto him some book of Tully; as the Third Book of Epistles, chosen out by Sturmius; *de Amicitiâ, de Senectute*, or that excellent Epistle, containing almost the whole First Book, *ad Q. Fratrem;* some comedy of Terence, or Plautus. But in Plautus, skilful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment in cutting out perfectly over old and improper words. Cæsar's Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμή, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectness; or some orations of T. Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

"These books I would have him read now a good deal at every lecture; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and parse, where ye suspect is any need: yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently, and writing orderly out his six points; and for translating, use you yourself every second or third day, to choose out some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable commonplace out of his Orations, or some other part of Tully, by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again, allowing him good space and time to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement.

"Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment for right choice truly tried; his memory for sure retaining better exercised, than by learning anything without the book; and here, how much he hath pro-

fited shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice, and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed-taking; of good heed-taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar, and gently handled by the master. For here shall all the hard points of grammar both easily and surely be learned up, which scholars in common schools, by making of Latins, be groping at with care and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them.

"I remember, when I was young, in the North there went to the grammar-school little children; they came from thence great lubbers, always learning, and little profiting; learning without book everything, understanding within the book little or nothing. Their whole knowledge by learning without the book was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head, and, therefore, was soon spit out of the mouth again. They were as men always going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour, or rather great toil without order, was even vain idleness without profit. Indeed, they took great pains about learning, but employed small labour in learning; when by this way prescribed in this book, being straight, plain, and easy, the scholar is always labouring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with profit. Always labouring I say; for, ere he have construed, parsed, twice translated over by good advisement, marked out his six points by skilful judgment, he shall have neces-

sary occasion to read over every lecture a dozen times at the least."

All this because the pupil shall do always in order, he will, the author contends, do it always with pleasure; and pleasure, he adds, according to Aristotle and other ancients, "allureth love; love hath lust to labour; labour always obtaineth his purpose." He then proceeds:—

"When by this diligent and speedy reading over those forenamed good books of Tully, Terence, Cæsar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection: then ye may try, if ye will, your scholar with the third kind of translation, although the two first ways, by mine opinion, be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the master's teaching and scholar's learning, than this third way is, which is thus:—

"Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius* beginneth his exercises of learning: and let him translate into Latin again, abiding in such place where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet, use you yourself such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take

* This book of Aphthonius, now forgotten, was once in great vogue in our schools and on the continent. Among the list of books in Sandwich School box or library (Temp. Eliz. Reg.) was a copy of Aphthonius. There is a short notice of Aphthonius in the Penny Cyclopædia.

heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

"I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience, by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen's Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir Antony Denny's, in Cheston. John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bed-fellow, who willing by good nature, and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue, after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas; I read unto him Tully *de Amicitiâ*, which he did every day twice translate out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin again. About St. Lawrence tide, after, to prove how he profited, I did choose out Torquatus' talk *de Amicitiâ*, in the latter end of the first book *de Finibus*, because that place was the same in the matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitiâ*. I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin, which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven year in grammar schools, yea, and some in the University too, cannot do half so well. This worthy young gentleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole house, and especially to that most noble lady, now Queen Elizabeth herself, departed within few days out of this world.

"And if in any cause a man may without offence of God speak somewhat ungodly, surely it was some grief unto me to see him hie so hastily to God as he did. A court full of such young gentlemen were rather a para-

dise, than a court upon earth. And though I had never poetical head to make any verse in any tongue; yet either love, or sorrow, or both, did wring out of me then certain careful thoughts of my good will towards him, which in my mourning for him fell more by chance, than either by skill or use, into this kind of misorderly metre."

For the verses, however, we must refer our readers to the original work; while we proceed to the discussion upon which the author next enters, respecting the "six ways appointed by the best learned men, for the learning of tongues and increase of eloquence." These he enumerates as being,—1. Translation; 2. Paraphrase; 3. Metaphrasis; 4. Epitome; 5. Imitation; and 6. Declamation. "All these," he says, "be used, and commended; but in order, and for respects, as person, ability, place, and time, shall require. The five last be fitter for the master than the scholar; for men than for children; for the Universities rather than for grammar schools. Yet nevertheless, which is fittest in mine opinion for our school, and which is either wholly to be refused, or partly to be used for our purpose, I will by good authority, and some reason I trust, particularly of every one, and largely enough of them all, declare orderly unto you."

I. "Translation," says Ascham, "is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar schools be nothing else but translations. But because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commodity; and be-

cause also they lack the daily use of writing which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit for good understanding, and in the memory for sure keeping of all that is learned."

Having then examined at considerable length the opinions of Cicero, Quintilian, and others of the ancients upon the subject, he thus concludes :—

"And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating, either only, or chiefly, to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholar in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy, would but translate after this sort one little book in Tully (as *de Senectute*, with two Epistles, the first *ad Q. Fratrem*, the other *ad Lentulum*, the last save one in the First Book,) that scholar, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue than the most part do that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed, this one Book with these two Epistles, is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know,) but it is able to furnish him fully, for all points of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of words, in all kind of matter. And why not? For it is read, that Dion Prusæus,* that wise philosopher and excellent orator of all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading and following only two books, Phædon Platonis, and Demosthenes' most notable Oration Περὶ Παραπρεσβείας.

"And a better and nearer example herein may be

* That is, Chrysostom, whose name was Dion, and who was a native of Prusa in Bithynia.

our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a noun and a verb; but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily, without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with a judgment, as they be few in number in both the Universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with her Majesty."

II. Paraphrasis is defined as being "not only to express at large with more words, but to shine and contend to translate the best Latin authors into other Latin words, as many, or thereabout." This method Ascham decidedly condemns as a school exercise, on the same grounds on which it is disapproved of by Cicero and the younger Pliny, the latter of whom in one of his Epistles calls it *audax contentio*, an audacious contention. "It is a bold comparison, indeed," says our author, "to think to say better than that is best. Such turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a fair sweet flagon of silver, into a foul musty bottle of leather; or to turn pure gold and silver into foul brass and copper."

A kind of paraphrase, he goes on to remark, which he would better allow, is to turn a rude and barbarous into a proper and eloquent style; but this, he adds, is an exercise not fit for a scholar, but for a perfect master. He quotes as an example, Sebastian Castalio's translation of Thomas à Kempis's book *de Imitando Christo.*

In reference again to the solicitude of many modern

writers about variety of expression, he observes: "The old and best authors that ever wrote were content, if occasion required to speak twice of one matter, not to change the words, but ῥητῶς, that is, word for word, to express it again. For they thought that a matter, well expressed with fit words and apt composition, was not to be altered; but liking it well themselves, they thought it would also be well allowed of others."

It requires, he contends, greater learning and deeper judgment than are to be hoped for at any school-master's hand rightly to distinguish all the nice and delicate points of style, and to undertake the correction of such faults as tumidity, poverty, luxuriance of diction, without running the risk of misleading where he attempts to instruct. Even the greatest scholars have frequently wanted this critical faculty. Thus, "some loving Melancthon well, as he was well worthy; but yet not considering well, nor wisely, how he of nature, and all his life and study by judgment, was wholly spent in *genere disciplinabili*, that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainly and aptly school matters; and, therefore, employed thereunto a fit, sensible, and calm kind of speaking and writing;—some, I say, with very well liking, but not with very well weighing Melancthon's doings, do frame themselves a style cold, lean, and weak, though the matter be never so warm and earnest; not much unlike unto one, that had a pleasure in a rough, rainy, winter-day, to clothe himself with nothing else but a demi-buckram cassock, plain without plaits, and single without lining, which will neither bear off wind nor weather, nor yet keep out the sun in any hot day.

"Some suppose, and that by good reason, that Me-

lancthon himself came to this low kind of writing by using over much paraphrasis in reading. For studying thereby to make everything straight and easy, in smoothing and planing all things too much, never leaveth, while the sense itself be left both loose and leasy. And some of those paraphrases of Melancthon be set out in print, as 'Pro Archia Poëta,' and 'M. Marcello.' But a scholar, by mine opinion, is better occupied in playing or sleeping than by spending time, not only vainly, but also harmfully, in such a kind of exercise.

"Therefore," he concludes, "in place of Latins for young scholars, and of paraphrasis for the masters, I would have double translation specially used. For in double translating a perfect piece of Tully or Cæsar, neither the scholar in learning, nor the master in teaching, can err. A true touchstone, a sure mete-wand lieth before both their eyes. For all right congruity, propriety of words, order in sentences, the right imitation to invent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirm it with good reason, to express any purpose fitly and orderly, is learned thus both easily and perfectly. Yea, to miss sometime in this kind of translation bringeth more profit than to hit right either in paraphrasis or making of Latins. For though ye say well in a Latin making, or in a paraphrasis, yet you being but in doubt, and uncertain whether ye say well or no, ye gather and lay up in memory no sure fruit of learning thereby; but if ye fault in translation, ye are easily taught how perfectly to amend it, and so well warned how after to eschew all such faults again.

"Paraphrasis, therefore, by mine opinion, is not meet for grammar schools, nor yet very fit for young men in the University, until study and time have bred in them perfect learning and steadfast judgment."

There is, indeed, he observes, one kind of paraphrasis which may be used both without hurt and to much profit; but it only suits the Greek language. This is the turning of a passage written in one dialect into another, as, for instance, from Ionic or Doric into Attic. It is hardly necessary to remark, that this exercise, so far from being paraphrasis, can hardly be called even translation. In some cases it would not amount to more than a change in orthography.

An instance is also given of a paraphrasis in Latin, which may be studied with profit, in two passages from Cicero, the one in the second book "De Finibus," the other in the first book "De Officiis," in which that writer appears to translate the same Greek original in different words. "The conference of these two places," says our author, "containing so excellent a piece of learning as this is, expressed by so worthy a wit as Tully's was, must needs bring great pleasure and profit to him that maketh true account of learning and honesty. But if we had the Greek author, the first pattern of all, and thereby to see how Tully's wit did work at divers times; how, out of one excellent image might be framed two other, one in face and favour, but somewhat differing in form, figure, and colour, surely such a piece of workmanship, compared with the pattern itself, would better please the eyes of honest, wise, and learned minds, than two of the fairest Venuses that ever Apelles made."

III. Metaphrasis. "This kind of exercise," says Ascham, "is all one with paraphrasis, save it is out of verse either into prose, or into some other kind of metre; or else out of prose into verse, which was Socrates's exercise and pastime, as Plato reporteth, when he was in prison, to translate Æsop's fables into verse. Quin-

tilian doth greatly praise also this exercise; but because Tully doth disallow it in young men, by mine opinion it were not well to use it in grammar schools, even for the self-same causes that he recited against paraphrasis."

As an example, however, if a schoolmaster, for his own instruction, should be desirous of seeing a perfect paraphrasis, there is given the prose version by Socrates of the passage respecting the coming of Chryses to the camp of the Greeks, in the first book of the Iliad, as it is recorded by Plato in the third book of his Republic. Ascham would have his Schoolmaster weigh well together Homer and Plato here, and mark diligently these four points—What is kept—What is added—What is left out—What is changed, either in choice of words or form of sentences. "Which four points," he adds, "be the right tools to handle like a workman this kind of work, as our scholar shall better understand when he hath been a good while in the University; to which time and place I chiefly remit this kind of exercise."

To this he subjoins a passage out of Hesiod, which has been imitated by Sophocles, St. Basil, Cicero, and Livy, and one from the beginning of the Eunuchus of Terence, which Horace has imitated in one of his satires. Commending the comparison of such passages as these, he remarks:

"This exercise may bring much profit to ripe heads and staid judgments; because, in travelling in it, the mind must needs be very attentive and busily occupied in turning and tossing itself many ways, and conferring with great pleasure the variety of worthy wits and judgments together. But this harm may soon come thereby, and namely to young scholars, lest in seeking other words and new form of sentences, they chance upon the

worse; for the which only cause, Cicero thinketh this exercise not to be fit for young men."

IV. Of Epitome our author observes: "This is a way of study belonging rather to matter than to words; to memory than to utterance; to those that be learned already, and hath small place at all among young scholars in grammar schools. It may profit privately some learned men, but it hath hurt generally learning itself very much. For by it we have lost whole Trogus, the best part of T. Livius, the goodly dictionary of Pompeius Festus, a great deal of the civil law, and other many notable books, for the which cause I do the more mislike this exercise both in old and young." It may be remarked, however, that such facts as these make really no argument at all against epitome as a school exercise. Ascham proceeds:—

"Epitome is good privately for himself that doth work it, but ill commonly for all others that use other men's labour therein. A silly poor kind of study, not unlike to the doing of those poor folk which neither till, nor sow, nor reap themselves, but glean by stealth upon other men's ground. Such have empty barns for dear years."

"I do wish," he afterwards remarks, in reference to the common books of exercises used at schools, "that all rules for young scholars were shorter than they be. For without doubt, Grammatica itself is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors than by the naked rules of grammarians. Epitome hurteth more in the universities and study of philosophy, but most of all in divinity itself."

He acknowledges, however, that "books of common places be very necessary to induce a man into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he read-

eth *ad certa rerum capita* (to certain heads), and not wander in study."

We give the remainder of what is said under this head, with the omission only of a few sentences here and there, which does not break the sense.

"Nevertheless, some kind of epitome may be used by men of skilful judgment, to the great profit also of others. As if a wise man would take Hall's Chronicle, where much good matter is quite marred with indenture English, and, first, change strange and inkhorn terms into proper and commonly used words; next, specially to weed out that that is superfluous and idle, not only where words be vainly heaped one upon another, but also where many sentences of one meaning be so clouted up together, as though Mr. Hall had been not writing the story of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching school. Surely a wise, learned man, by this way of epitome, in cutting away words and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, should leave to men's use a story half as much as it was in quantity, but twice as good as it was both for pleasure and also commodity.

"Another kind of epitome may be used likewise very well to much profit. Some man either by lustiness of nature, brought by ill teaching to a wrong judgment, is over full of words and sentences, and matter; and yet all his words be proper, apt, and well chosen, all his sentences be round and trimly framed, his whole matter grounded upon good reason, and stuffed with full arguments for his intent and purpose; yet when his talk shall be heard, or his writing be read of such one as is either of my two dear friends, Mr. Haddon at home, or Johannes Sturmius in Germany, that *nimium* in him

which fools and unlearned will most commend, shall either of these two bite his lip or shake his head at it.

"This fulness, as it is not to be misliked in a young man, so in farther age, in greater skill, and weightier affairs, is to be temperated, or else discretion and judgment shall seem to be wanting in him. But if his style be still over rank and lusty, as some men being never so old and spent by years will still be full of youthful conditions (as was Sir Francis Brian,* and evermore would have been), such a rank and full writer must use, if he will do wisely, the exercise of a very good kind of epitome, and do, as certain wise men do that be over fat and fleshy, who, leaving their own full and plentiful table, go to sojourn abroad from home for a while at the temperate diet of some sober man, and so by little and little cut away the grossness that is in them.

"As for example, if Osorius† would leave off his lustiness in striving against St. Austin, and his over rank railing against poor Luther and the truth of God's doctrine, and give his whole study, not to write anything of his own for a while, but to translate Demosthenes with so strait, fast, and temperate a style in Latin as he is in Greek, he would become so perfect and pure a writer, I believe, as have been few or none since Cicero's days. And so, by doing himself and all learned men much good, do others less harm, and Christ's doctrine less injury than he doth, and withal win unto himself many worthy friends, who agreeing with him gladly in the love and liking of excellent learning, are sorry to see so worthy a wit, so rare eloquence, wholly spent and consumed in striving with God and good men.

* Ambassador at the court of Rome for King Henry VIII.

† Jerome Osorio, a learned Portuguese bishop of the sixteenth century.

"Among the rest no man doth lament him more than I, not only for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also because there hath passed privately betwix him and me sure tokens of much good will and friendly opinion, the one toward the other. And surely the distance betwixt London and Lisbon should not stop any kind of friendly duty that I could either show to him or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certain points separate our minds.

"And yet, for my part, both towards him and divers others here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdom, and gentle humanity, which I have seen in them, and felt at their hands myself: where the matter of difference is mere concience in a quiet mind inwardly, and not contentious malice with spiteful railing openly, I can be content to follow this rule, 'in misliking some one thing, not to hate for anything else.' ....

"Some will judge much boldness in me thus to judge of Osorius's style; but wise men do know that mean lookers on may truly say, for a well made picture, 'This face had been more comely if that high red in the cheek were somewhat more pure sanguine than it is; and yet the stander-by cannot amend it himself by any way. ...

"Although a man groundly learned already may take much profit himself in using by epitome to draw other men's works for his own memory sake into shorter room (as Canterus hath done very well the whole Metamorphosis of Ovid, and David Chythræus a great deal better the Nine Muses of Herodotus, and Melancthon, in mine opinion, far best of all, the whole Story of Time, not only to his own use, but to other men's profit, and his great praise); yet epitome is most necessary of all in a man's own writing, as we learn of that noble poet

Virgil, who, if Donatus say true, in writing that perfect work of the Georgics, used daily, when he had written forty or fifty verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and polishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of ten or twelve.

"And this exercise is not more needfully done in a great work than wisely done in our common daily writing, either of letter or other thing else; that is to say, to peruse diligently, and see and spy wisely, what is always more than needeth. For twenty to one offend more in writing too much than too little; even as twenty to one fall into sickness rather by over much fulness than by any lack or emptiness........

"And of all other men, even those that have the inventivest heads for all purposes, and roundest tongues in all matters and places (except they learn and use this good lesson of epitome), commit commonly greater faults than dull, staying, silent men do. For quick inventors, and fair ready speakers, being boldened with their present ability to say more, and perchance better too, at the sudden for that present than any others can do, use less help of diligence and study than they ought to do, and so have in them commonly less learning and weaker judgment for all deep considerations than some duller heads and slower tongues have.

"And therefore ready speakers generally be not the best, plainest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judgers in weighty affairs; because they do not tarry to weigh and judge all things as they should, but having their heads over full of matter, be like pens over full of ink, which will sooner blot than make any fair letter at all. Time was, when I had experience of two ambassadors in one place, the one of a hot head to invent,

and of a hasty hand to write; the other cold and staid in both; but what difference of their doings was made by wise men is not unknown to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, had a quick head and a ready tongue, and yet was not the best writer in England. Cicero in Brutus doth wisely note the same in Serg. Galba and Q. Hortensius, who were both hot, lusty, and plain speakers, but cold, loose, and rough writers. And Tully telleth the cause why, saying, when they spoke, their tongue was naturally carried with full tide and wind of their wit; when they wrote, their head was solitary, dull, and calm; and so their style was blunt and their writing cold." The author then quotes a remark from Cicero, to the effect, that the fault in question is one by which men of much natural ability, but insufficiently instructed, are often found to be characterised. "And therefore," he concludes, "all quick inventors and ready fair speakers must be careful that, to their goodness of nature, they add also in any wise study, labour, leisure, learning, and judgment, and then they shall indeed pass all other (as I know some do in whom all those qualities are fully planted), or else if they give over much to their wit, and over little to their labour and learning, they will soonest overreach in talk, and farthest come behind in writing, whatsoever they take in hand. The method of epitome is most necessary for such kind of men."

V. Imitation Ascham defines to be "a faculty to express lively and perfectly that example which you go about to follow." "All languages," he continues, "both learned, and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten solely, by imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye

learn to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn.

"And therefore if ye would speak as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are; but if you be born or brought up in a rude country, ye shall not choose but speak rudely. The rudest man of all knoweth this to be true.

"Yet nevertheless, the rudeness of common and mother tongues is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest country, and most barbarous mother language, many be found that can speak very wisely; but in the Greek and Latin tongues, the two only learned tongues, which be kept not in common talk, but in private books, we find always wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never or seldom asunder. For all such authors, as be fullest of good matter and right judg ment in doctrine, be likewise always most proper in words, most apt in sentence, most plain and pure in uttering the same.

"And contrariwise, in those two tongues, all writers, either in religion or any sect of philosophy, whosoever be found fond in judgment of matter, be commonly found as rude in uttering their minds. For stoics, ana baptists, and friars, with epicures, libertines, and monks, being most like in learning and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writings. They be not wise, therefore, that say, 'What care I for man's words and utterance, if his matter and reasons be good!' Such men say so, not so much of ignorance, as either of some singular pride in themselves, or some special malice of others, or some private and partial matter, either in religion or other kind of learning. For good and choice meats be no

more requisite for healthy bodies, than proper and apt words be for good matters; and also plain and sensible utterance for the best and deepest reasons: 'In which two points standeth perfect eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest gifts that God doth give to man.'

"Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning, that care not for words, but for matter, and so make a divorce betwixt the tongue and the heart. For mark all ages, look upon the whole course of both the Greek and Latin tongues, and ye shall surely find, that when apt and good words began to be neglected, and properties of those two tongues to be confounded, then also began ill deeds to spring; strange manners to express good orders; new and fond opinions to strive with old and true doctrine, first in philosophy, and after in religion; right judgment of all things to be perverted; and so virtue with learning is contemned, and study left off. 'Of ill thoughts cometh perverse judgment; of ill deeds springeth lewd talk.' Which four misorders, as they mar man's life, so destroy they good learning withal."

Our author then instances, as illustrating "the goodness of God's providence for learning," the circumstance (which, however, is not quite the fact), that the books of the old Stoics and Epicureans (the sects "which were fondest in opinion and rudest in utterance") have all perished. But "again," he exclaims, "behold on the other side, how God's wisdom hath wrought that, of the Academics and Peripatetics, those that were wisest in judgment of matters, and purest in uttering of their minds, the first and chiefest that wrote most and best in either tongue (as Plato and Aristotle in Greek, and Tully in Latin), be so either wholly, or sufficiently left unto us, as I never knew yet scholar,

that gave himself to like and love, and follow chiefly those three authors, but he proved both learned, wise, and also an honest man; if he joined withal the true doctrine of God's Holy Bible; without the which, the other three be but fine edge tools in a fool's or madman's hand."

It is then remarked that there are three kinds of imitation in matters of learning. First, "the whole doctrine of comedies and tragedies is a perfect imitation, or fair lively painted picture of the life of every degree of man." "The second kind of imitation is to follow, for learning of tongues and sciences, the best authors. Here riseth among proud and envious wits a great controversy, whether one or many are to be followed; and if one, who is that one." "The third kind of imitation belongeth to the second; as when you be determined whether you will follow one or more, to know perfectly, and which way to follow that one; in what place; by what mean and order; by what tools and instruments ye shall do it; by what skill and judgment ye shall truly discern whether ye follow rightly or no."

"Erasmus, the ornament of learning in our time," proceeds our author, "doth wish that some man of learning and diligence would take the like pains in Demosthenes and Tully, that Macrobius hath done in Homer and Virgil; that is, to write out and join together, where the one doth imitate the other." This wish of Erasmus he admits is good, "but surely," he adds, "it is not good enough." He would have much more to be done than Macrobius has attempted. "If a man," he says, "would take this pains also, when he hath laid two places of Homer and Virgil, or of Demosthenes and Tully together, to teach plainly withal, after this sort:—

"1. Tully retaineth thus much of the matter, these sentences, these words.

"2. This and that he leaveth out, which he doth wittily to this end and purpose.

"3. This he addeth here.

"4. This he diminisheth there.

"5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there.

"6. This he altereth and changeth either in property of words, in form of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one or other convenient circumstance of the author's present purpose.

"In these few rude English words are wrapped up all the necessary tools and instruments, wherewith true imitation is rightly wrought withal in any tongue. Which tools I openly confess be not of mine own forging, but partly left unto me by the cunningest master, and one of the worthiest gentlemen that ever England bred, Sir John Cheke; partly borrowed by me out of the shop of the dearest friend I have out of England, Joh. Sturmius. And therefore I am the bolder to borrow of him, and here to leave them to others, and namely to my children. Which tools if it please God that another day they may be able to use rightly, as I do wish, and daily pray they may do, I shall be more glad than if I were able to leave them a great quantity of land."

Ascham considers it as disgraceful to students "who having so fair examples to follow as Plato and Tully, do not use so wise ways in following them for the obtaining of wisdom and learning, as rude, ignorant artificers do for gaining a small commodity." "For surely," he says, "the meanest painter useth more wit, better art, greater diligence in his shop in fol-

lowing the picture of any mean man's face, than commonly the best students do even in the University, for the attaining of learning itself."

"Some ignorant, unlearned, and idle student, or some busy looker upon this little poor book, that hath neither will to do good himself, nor skill to judge right of others, but can lustily contemn by pride and ignorance all painful diligence and right order in study, will perchance say, that I am too precise, too curious in marking and pidling thus about the imitation of others; and that the old and worthy authors did never busy their heads and wits in following so precisely either the matter what other men wrote, or else the manner how other men wrote. They will say, 'It were a plain slavery, and injury too, to shackle and tie a good wit, and hinder the course of a man's good nature, with such bonds of servitude in following others. Except such men think themselves wiser than Cicero for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turn a new leaf."

The best book, he then proceeds to argue, "that ever Tully wrote by all men's judgment, and by his own testimony too, in writing whereof he employed most care, study, learning, and judgment, is his book De Oratore ad Q. Fratrem." Now both in matter and in manner this work is altogether an imitation. The matter is Aristotle's, and the manner is avowedly after Plato.

He then examines what has been said upon the subject of imitation by various writers, both ancient and modern. Of those who have treated the subject, he says, he has read as many as he could get diligently. We can only, however, here enumerate the names of the authors whose opinions he reviews. They are Cicero,

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Quintilian, Erasmus, Budæus, Melancthon, Camerarius, Sambucus, Bembus, John Sturmius (whom Ascham declares to be far the best, in his opinion, that ever took the matter in hand); and, finally, Bartholomew Riccius Farrariensis, who, he says, " writeth the better because his whole doctrine, judgment, and order seemeth to be borrowed out of Joan. Sturmius's books." In giving directions for imitation of prose, Riccius has taken as his example or model the manner in which Cicero has, in modern times, been imitated by Longolius; this he has done because his purpose was to teach only the Latin tongue: whereas, the plan proposed by our author, of comparing Virgil with Homer, and Cicero with Demosthenes, requires a master perfectly skilled in both Latin and Greek. " It is my wish, indeed," says he, " and that by good reason; for whosoever will write well of any matter, must labour to express that that is perfect, and not to stay and content himself with the mean; yea, I say farther, though it be not impossible, yet it is very rare and marvellous hard to prove excellent in the Latin tongue for him that is not also well seen in the Greek tongue. Tully himself, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labour, brought up from his cradle in that place, and in that time, where and when the Latin tongue most flourished naturally in every man's mouth; yet was not his own tongue able itself to make him so cunning in his own tongue as he was indeed, but the knowledge and imitation of the Greek tongue withal. This he confesseth himself, this he uttereth in many places, as those can tell best that use to read him most.

" Therefore thou, that shootest at perfection in the Latin tongue, think not thyself wiser than Tully was, in

choice of the way that leadeth rightly to the same; think not thy wit better than Tully's was, as though that may serve thee that was not sufficient for him. For even as a hawk flieth not high with one wing, even so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tongue.

"I have been a looker on in the cockpit of learning these many years, and one cock only have I known, which with one wing even at this day doth pass all others, in mine opinion, that ever I saw in any pit in England, though they had two wings. Yet, nevertheless, to fly well with one wing, to run fast with one leg, be rather rare masteries, much to be marvelled at, than sure examples safely to be followed. A bishop that now liveth, a good man, whose judgment in religion I better like than his opinion in perfectness in other learning, said once unto me, 'We have no need now of the Greek tongue, when all things be translated into Latin.' But the good man understood not that even the best translation is for mere necessity, but an evil imped wing to fly withal, or a heavy stump leg of wood to go withal. Such, the higher they fly, the sooner they falter and fail; the faster they run, the oftener they stumble, and sorer they fall. Such as will needs so fly may fly at a pie and catch a daw; and such runners as commonly they, shove and shoulder to stand foremost, yet in the end they come behind others, and deserve but the hopshackles, if the masters of the game be right judgers."

A better book, therefore, Ascham thinks, than any that had yet been produced might be made on imitation in the learned languages, while the task of compiling it would, at the same time, be more pleasant than painful. "Erasmus," he observes, "giving himself to read over

all authors, Greek and Latin, seemeth to have prescribed to himself this order of reading; that is, to note out by the way three special points, all adages, all similitudes, and all witty sayings of most notable personages. And so by one labour, he left to posterity three notable books, and namely* two, his Chiliades, Apophthegmata, and Similia." In the same manner, he proposes that the good student should bend himself to read diligently over the works of Cicero; and also at the same time, with his books of philosophy, Plato and Xenophon; with his orations, Isocrates and Demosthenes; and with his rhetorical treatises, the writings of Aristotle. "The books," says he, "be not many, nor long, nor rude in speech, nor mean in matter, but next the majesty of God's holy word, most worthy for a man, the lover of learning and honesty, to spend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthy Mr. Cheke many times say, 'I would have a good student pass and journey through all authors both Greek and Latin.' But he that will dwell in these few books only, first, in God's holy Bible, and then join with it Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, and Demosthenes in Greek, must needs prove an excellent man."

Then follow directions for comparing Horace with Pindar, Livy with Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Polybius, &c. "I trust," he says, "this my writing shall give some good student occasion to take some piece in hand of this work of imitation. And as I had rather have any do it than myself, yet surely myself rather than none at all. And by God's grace, if God do lend me life with health, free leisure, and liberty, with good liking and a merry heart, I will turn the best

* Especially.

part of my study and time to toil in one or other piece of this work of imitation."

Aristotle, he contends, ought never to be read without his precepts being illustrated by examples taken out of Plato and other good authors. Then follows a long passage, which is, however, too interesting to be abridged:

"Cambridge, at my first coming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the precepts of Aristotle without the examples of other authors. But herein, in my time, these men of worthy memory, Mr. Redman, Mr. Cheke, Mr. Smith, Mr. Haddon, Mr. Watson, put so to their helping hands, as that University, and all students there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bound unto them, if that trade in study be truly followed which those men left behind them there.

"By this small mention of Cambridge, I am carried nto three imaginations: first, into a sweet remembrance of my time spent there; then, into some careful thoughts for the grievous alteration that followed soon after; lastly, into much joy, to hear tell of the good recovery and earnest forwardness in all good learning there again.

"To utter these my thoughts somewhat more largely were somewhat beside my matter, yet not very far out of the way; because it shall wholly tend to the good encouragement and right consideration of learning, which is my full purpose in writing this little book: whereby also shall well appear this sentence to be most true, 'That only good men, by their government and example, make happy times in every degree and state.'

"Doctor Nicolas Medcalfe, that honourable father, was Master of St. John's College when I came thither; a man meanly learned himself, but not meanly affec-

tioned to set forward learning in others. He found that college spending scarce two hundred marks by the year: he left it spending a thousand marks, and more. Which he procured not with his money, but by his wisdom; not chargeably bought by him, but liberally given by others by his means, for the zeal and honour they bore to learning. And that which is worthy of memory, all these givers were almost Northern men; who, being liberally rewarded in the service of their Prince, bestowed it as liberally for the good of their country. Some men thought, therefore, that Dr. Medcalfe was partial to Northern men; but sure I am of this, that Northern men were partial in doing more good, and giving more lands to the furtherance of learning, than any other countrymen in those days did, which deed should have been rather an example of goodness for others to follow, than matter of malice for any to envy, as some there were that did.

"Truly Dr. Medcalfe was partial to none, but indifferent to all; a master for the whole, a father to every one in that College. There was none so poor, if he had either will to goodness, or wit to learning, that could lack being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witness myself, that money many times was brought into young men's studies by strangers, whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy Nicolaus followed the steps of good old St. Nicolaus, that learned bishop. He was a Papist indeed; but would to God among all us Protestants I might once see but one, that would win like praise in doing like good for the advancement of learning and virtue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any young man, given to new learning, as they termed it, went beyond his

fellows in wit, labour, and towardness, even the same neither lacked open praise to encourage him, nor private exhibition to maintain him; as worthy Sir John Cheke, if he were alive, would bear good witness, and so can many more. I, myself, one of the meanest of a great number in that College, because there appeared in me some small show of towardness and diligence, lacked not his favour to further me in learning.

"And being a boy, new bachelor of arts, I chanced among my companions to speak against the Pope; which matter was then in every man's mouth, because Dr. Hains and Dr. Skip were come from the Court to debate the same matter by preaching and disputation in the University. This happened the same time when I stood to be fellow there. My talk came to Dr. Medcalfe's ear: I was called before him, and the Seniors; and after grievous rebuke and some punishment, open warning was given to all the fellows, none to be so hardy as to give me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threats, the good father himself privily procured that I should even then be chosen fellow; but the election being done, he made countenance of great discontent thereat. This good man's goodness and fatherly discretion used towards me that one day shall never be out of my remembrance all the days of my life. And for the same cause have I put it here in this small record of learning. For, next God's providence, surely that day was, by that good father's means, *Dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poor learning I have, and of all the furtherance that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained.

"This his goodness stood not still in one or two, but flowed abundantly over all that College, and broke out

also to nourish good wits in every part of that University: whereby, at his departing thence, he left such a company of fellows and scholars in St. John's College, as can scarce be found now in some whole University; who either for divinity, on the one side or other, or for civil service to their Prince and country, have been, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole realm. Yea, St. John's did then so flourish, as Trinity College, that princely house now, at the first erection, was but *Colonia deducta* out of St. John's, not only for their master, fellows, and scholars, but also, which is more, for their whole both order of learning and discipline of manners. And yet to this day it never took master but such as was bred up before in St. John's; doing the duty of a good colonia to her metropolis, as the ancient cities in Greece, and some yet in Italy at this day, are accustomed to do.

" St. John's stood in this state until those heavy times and that grievous change that chanced *anno* 1553, when more perfect scholars were dispersed from thence in one month than many years can rear up again. For when the Boar of the Wood had passed the seas, and fastened his foot again in England, not only the two fair groves of learning in England were either cut up by the root, or trodden down to the ground and wholly went to wrack, but the young spring there, and everywhere else, was pitifully nipt and over-trodden by very beasts, and also the fairest standers of all were rooted up and cast into the fire, to the great weakening, even at this day, of Christ's church in England, both for religion and learning.

" And what good could chance then to the Universities, when some of the greatest, though not of the

wisest, nor best learned, nor best men neither, of that side, did labour to persuade that ignorance was better than knowledge; which they meant not for the laity only, but also for the greatest rabble of their spirituality, what other pretence openly soever they made. And therefore did some of them at Cambridge, whom I will not name openly, cause hedge-priests, fetched out of the country, to be made fellows in the University; saying in their talk privily, and declaring by their deeds openly, 'that he was fellow good enough for their time, if he could wear a gown and a tippet comely, and have his crown shorn fair and roundly, and could turn his portess and pie readily.' Which I speak, not to reprove any order either of apparel or other duty that may be well and indifferently used, but to note the misery of that time, when the benefits provided for learning were so foully misused.

"And what was the fruit of this seed? Verily judgment in doctrine was wholly altered; order in discipline very sore changed; the love of good learning began suddenly to wax cold; the knowledge of the tongues (in spite of some that therein had flourished) was manifestly contemned; and so the way of right study purposely perverted; the choice of good authors, of malice confounded; old sophistry—I say not well,—not old, but that new rotten sophistry—began to beard and shoulder logic in her own tongue; yea, I know that heads were cast together and counsel devised, that Duns, with all the rabble of barbarous questionists, should have dispossessed of their place and room Aristotle, Plato, Tully, and Demosthenes, whom good Mr. Redman, and those two worthy stars of that University, Mr. Cheke and Mr. Smith, with their scholars, had brought to flourish as

notably in Cambridge as ever they did in Greece and in Italy; and for the doctrine of those four, the four pillars of learning, Cambridge then giving place to no University, neither in France, Spain, Germany, nor Italy. Also in outward behaviour, then began simplicity in apparel to be laid aside, courtly gallantness to be taken up; frugality in diet was privately misliked, town-going to good cheer openly used; honest pastimes joined with labour left off in the fields; unthrifty and idle games, haunted corners, occupied in the nights; contention in youth nowhere for learning; factions in the elders everywhere for trifles.

"All which miseries at length by God's providence had their end the 16th November, 1558;* since which time the young spring hath shot up so fair, as now there be in Cambridge again many good plants (as did well appear at the Queen's Majesty's late being there), which are like to grow to mighty great timber, to the honour of learning and great good of their country, if they may stand their time as the best plants there were wont to do, and if some old dotterel trees, with standing over nigh them, and dropping upon them, do not either hinder or crook their growing; wherein my fear is the less, seeing so worthy a justice of an oyer† hath the present oversight of that whole chase, who was himself some time, in the fairest spring that ever was there of learning, one of the forwardest young plants in all that worthy college of St. John's; who now by grace is grown to such greatness, as, in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdom (next the providence of God and goodness of one), in

* The day of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne.

† Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

these our days, religion for sincerity, learning for order and advancement, the commonwealth for happy and quiet government, have, to the great rejoicing of all good men, specially reposed themselves."

Returning now to the question, whether one, a few, many, or all ought to be followed, he recommends that, in every separate kind of learning, we should imitate only a few, and chiefly some one great writer, the most eminent in that particular department. "And now," he proceeds, "to know what author doth meddle only with some one piece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfectly make up the whole body, I will declare, as I can call to remembrance, the goodly talk that I have had oftentimes of the true difference of authors with that gentleman of worthy memory, my dearest friend and teacher of all the little poor learning I have, Sir John Cheke."

Style (*genus dicendi*), he divides into the poetical, the historical, the philosophical, and the oratorical.

The poetical style, again, he considers may be subdivided into the comic, the tragic, the epic, and the lyric (*melicum*). Of these distinctions he gives the following illustrations:

"When Mr. Watson in St. John's College, at Cambridge, wrote his excellent tragedy of 'Absalon,' Mr. Cheke, he, and I, for that part of true imitation, had many pleasant talks together, in comparing the precepts of Aristotle and Horace de Arte Poëticâ, with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men in writing of tragedies in our days have shot at this mark. Some in England, more in France, Germany, and Italy also, have written tragedies in our time, of which not one, I am sure, is able to abide the true touch

of Aristotle's precepts and Euripides's examples, save only two that ever I saw, Mr. Watson's 'Absalon,' and Georgius Buchananus's 'Jepthe.'

"One man in Cambridge,* well liked of many, but best liked of himself, was many times bold and busy to bring matters upon stages which he called tragedies. In one, whereby he looked to win his spurs, and wherea many ignorant fellows fast clapped their hands, he began the *protasis* with *trochæis octonariis:* which kind of verse as it is but seldom and rare in tragedies, so is it never used save only in *epitasi*, when the tragedy is highest and hottest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember full well what Mr. Watson merrily said unto me of his blindness and boldness in that behalf; although otherwise there passed much friendship between them. Mr. Watson had another manner of care of perfection, with a fear and reverence of the judgment of the best learned; who to this day would never suffer yet his 'Absalon' to go abroad, and that only, because *in locis paribus Anapæstus* is twice or thrice used instead of *Iambus*—a small fault, and such a one as perchance would never be marked, no neither in Italy nor France. This I write, not so much to note the first, or praise the last, as to leave in memory of writing for good example to posterity, what perfection in any time was most diligently sought for in like manner in all kind of learning, in that most worthy college of St. John's in Cambridge."

Upon this last anecdote, however, Mr. Upton has the following note: "What is here assigned could never be the true reason of Mr. Watson's refusing to publish his tragedy, so accurately composed as to be put in competition with Buchanan's 'Jepthe.' For why did he not

* It is not known to whom our author here alludes.

correct what he judged amiss? a thing so very easy for him to do. Though what if we say there was no fault in this respect committed, nor any need of alteration? For excepting the sixth place, the *Anapest* has free liberty to stand where it pleases, and that for this reason, especially with the comedians, as Hephæstion has observed." [The import of the passage quoted from Hephæstion is, that the comedians introduce the *Anapest* in this indiscriminate or irregular manner, that their verse may the more resemble the ease and freedom of ordinary conversation.] "I suppose the true reason hereof was, either an unwillingness to appear in print, or a dissatisfaction with the times, he being one of the ejected bishops."

The historical style is divided by Ascham into that suited for journals (*diaria*), that for annals, that for commentaries, and that for history properly so called.

The philosophical he divides into continuous discourse (*sermo*), and dialogue (*contentio*).

The oratorical he divides into the plain (*humile*), the moderately elevated (*mediocre*), and the sublime.

Having laid down these general principles, he proceeds: "Now, to touch more particularly which of those authors that be now most commonly in men's hands will soon afford you some piece of eloquence; and what manner a piece of eloquence; and what is to be liked and followed; and what to be misliked and eschewed in them; and how some again will furnish you fully withal, rightly and wisely considered, somewhat I will write, as I have heard Sir John Cheke many times say.

"The Latin tongue, concerning any part of pureness of it, from the spring to the decay of the same, did not endure much longer than is the life of a well-aged man, scarce one hundred years from the time of the last Scipio

Africanus and Lælius to the empire of Augustus. And it is notable that Velleius Paterculus writeth of Tully, 'How that the perfection of eloquence did so remain only in him, and in his time, as before him were few which might much delight a man, or, after him, any worthy admiration, but such as Tully might have seen, and such as might have seen Tully.' And good cause why; for no perfection is durable. Increase hath a time, and decay likewise; but all perfect ripeness remaineth but a moment, as is plainly seen in fruits, plums, and cherries; but more sensibly in flowers, as roses and such like, and yet as truly in all greater matters. For what naturally can go no higher, must naturally yield and stoop again.

"Of this short time of pureness of the Latin tongue, for the first forty years of it, and all the time before, we have no piece of learning left, save Plautus and Terence, with a little rude imperfect pamphlet of the elder Cato.* And as for Plautus, except the schoolmaster be able to make wise and wary choice, first, in propriety of words, then in framing of phrases and sentences, and chiefly in choice of honesty of matter, your scholar were better to play than learn all that is in him. But surely, if judgment for the tongue, and direction for the manners, be wisely joined with the diligent reading of Plautus, then truly Plautus, for that pureness of the Latin tongue in Rome, when Rome did most flourish in well-doing, and so thereby in well-speaking also, is such a plentiful storehouse for common eloquence in mean matters, and all private men's affairs, as the Latin tongue for that respect hath not the like again. When I remember the

* One would imagine Mr. Ascham had never seen Victorius's edition of "Cato, de Re Rusticâ;" since he here calls it a little rude imperfect pamphlet. And yet it was printed by Rob. Stephens, anno 1543.—*Upton.*

worthy time of Rome, wherein Plautus did live, I must needs honour the talk of that time, which we see Plautus doth use.

"Terence is also a storehouse of the same tongue for another time, following soon after; and although he be not so full and plentiful as Plautus is, for multitude of matters and diversity of words, yet his words be chosen so purely, placed so orderly, and all his stuff so neatly packed up and wittily compassed in every place, as by all wise men's judgment 'He is counted the cunninger workman, and to have his shop, for the room that is in it, more finely appointed, and trimlier ordered, than Plautus's is.'

"Three things chiefly, both in Plautus and Terence, are to be specially considered, the matter, the utterance, the words, the metre. The matter in both is altogether within the compass of the meanest men's manners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all; but standeth chiefly in uttering the thoughts and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, unthrifty young men, crafty servants, subtle bawds, and wily harlots; and so, is much spent in finding out fine fetches, and packing up pelting matters, such as in London commonly come to the hearing of the masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuff for that scholar that should become hereafter either a good minister in religion, or a civil gentleman in service of his prince and country (except the preacher do know such matters to confute them), when ignorance surely in all such things were better for a civil gentleman than knowledge. * * * *

"For word and speech Plautus is more plentiful, and Terence more pure and proper. And for one respect, Terence is to be embraced above all that ever wrote in

this kind of argument: because it is well known by good record of learning, and that by Cicero's own witness, that some comedies bearing Terence's name were writ by worthy Scipio and wise Lælius; and namely 'Heautontimorumenos,' and 'Adelphi.' And therefore, as oft as I read those comedies, so oft doth sound in mine ear the pure fine talk of Rome, which was used by the flower of the worthiest nobility that ever Rome bred. Let the wisest man, and best learned that liveth, read advisedly over the first scene of 'Heautontimorumenos,' and the first scene of 'Adelphi,' and let him considerately judge whether it is the talk of a servile stranger born, or rather even that wise eloquent speech which Cicero in Brutus doth so lively express in Lælius. And yet nevertheless, in all this good propriety of words and pureness of phrases which be in Terence, you must not follow him always in placing of them; because for the metre sake, some words in him sometimes be driven awry, which require a straighter placing in plain prose; if you will form, as I would you should do, your speech and writing to that excellent perfectness, which was only in Tully, or only in Tully's time."

The subjects both of Latin and of English versification are then treated of at considerable length; but upon the latter especially, our author's observations are not of much value. "This matter," he says, "maketh me gladly remember my sweet time spent at Cambridge, and the pleasant talk which I had oft with Mr. Cheke and Mr. Watson of this fault, not only in the old Latin poets, but also in our new English rhymers at this day." He complains that Englishmen in general will not "acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and

Huns, when all good verses, and all good learning too, were destroyed by them, and after carried into France and Germany, and at last received into England by men of excellent wit indeed, but of small learning, and less judgment in that behalf." To "follow rather the Goths in rhyming than the Greeks in true versifying," he considers to be "to eat acorns with swine, when we may freely eat wheat bread among men." "Indeed," he adds, "Chaucer, Thomas Norton of Bristol, my Lord of Surrey, Tho. Phaer, and other gentlemen, in translating Ovid, Palingenius*, and Seneca, have gone as far, to their great praise, as the copy they followed could carry them." He thinks, however, that these good wits would have done better had they not contented themselves with that barbarous and rude rhyming. The English tongue, he maintains, although not very well adapted for hexameter verse, would receive the iambic measure as naturally as either Greek or Latin. As examples of the revival, in modern times, of the ancient measures, he instances the translation of the fourth book of the Æneid into English by the Earl of Surrey, and that of the Odyssey into Spanish by Gonsalvo Perez; "yet neither of them," he says, "hath fully hit perfect and true versifying." Afterwards, adverting to the circumstance of English scholars having been beforehand with those of Italy, "first in spying out, then in seeking to amend this fault in learning," he introduces the following passage: "And here, for my pleasure, I purpose a little by the way to play and sport with my master

* Marcellus Palingenius, a native of Ferrara, a Latin poet of the sixteenth century, the author of a poem entitled Zodiacus Vitæ, in twelve books, first published in 1536. A translation of the first six books of this poem was published in 1561, by Barnaby Googe, which is now an exceedingly rare book.

Tully, from whom commonly I am never wont to dissent. He himself, for this point of learning, in his verses doth halt a little, by his leave: he could not deny it, if he were alive; nor those defend him now that love him best. This fault I lay to his charge, because once it pleased him, though somewhat merrily, yet over-uncourteously, to rail upon poor England, objecting both extreme beggary and mere barbarousness unto it, writing thus unto his friend Atticus: 'There is not one scruple of silver in that whole isle; or any one that knoweth either learning or letter.'

"But now, Master Cicero, blessed be God and his son Jesus Christ, whom you never knew, except it were as it pleased him to enlighten you by some shadow, as covertly in one place you confess, saying, 'Veritatis tantùm umbram consectamur,' (we follow only the shadow of truth) as your master Plato did before you; blessed be God, I say, that sixteen hundred years after you were dead and gone, it may truly be said, that for silver there is more comely plate in one city of England than is in four of the proudest cities in all Italy, and take Rome for one of them: and for learning, beside the knowledge of all learned tongues and liberal sciences, even your own books, Cicero, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loved, and as truly followed in England at this day, as it is now, or ever was since your own time, in any place of Italy, either at Arpinum where you was born, or else at Rome where you was brought up. And a little to brag with you, Cicero, where you yourself, by your leave, halted in some point of learning in your own tongue, many in England at this day go straight up, both in true skill and right doing therein."

Having remarked the small difference "either in propriety of words, or framing of the style," that is to be found between the familiar epistles of Cicero, and those written to him by his friends, he makes the following fine observation: "These men and Tully lived all in one time, were like in authority, not unlike in learning and study, which might be just causes of this their equality in writing. And yet surely they neither were indeed, nor yet were counted in men's opinions, equal with Tully in that faculty. And how is the difference hid in his Epistles? Verily, as the cunning of an expert seaman in a fair calm fresh river doth little differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein: even so, in the short cut of a private letter, where matter is common, words easy, and order not much diverse, small show of difference can appear. But where Tully doth set up his sail of eloquence in some broad deep argument, carried with full tide and wind of his wit and learning, all others may rather stand, and look after him, than hope to overtake him, what course soever he hold, either in fair or foul."

"Four men only," he continues, "when the Latin tongue was full ripe, be left unto us who in that time did flourish, and did leave to posterity the fruit of their wit and learning—Varro, Sallust, Cæsar, and Cicero." Of course the statement is confined to prose writers. The remainder of the treatise is occupied with a review of the characteristics and merits of the first three of these chief Roman classics.

Of Varro, he says, among other things, "His books of husbandry are much to be regarded and diligently to be read, not only for the propriety, but also for the plenty of good words in all country and husband men's affairs, which cannot be had by so good authority out of any

other author, either of so good a time, or of so great learning, as out of Varro. And yet, because he was four-score years old when he wrote those books, the form of his style there, compared with Tully's writing, is but even the talk of a spent old man: whose words commonly fall out of his mouth, though very wisely, yet hardly and coldly, and more heavily also, than some ears can well bear, except only for age and authority's sake; and perchance, of a rude and country argument, of purpose and judgment he rather used the speech of the country than the talk of the city."

"Sallust," he says, "is a wise and worthy writer; but he requireth a learned reader and a right considerer of him. My dearest friend and best master that ever I had or heard in learning, Sir John Cheke (such a man, as if I should live to see England breed the like again, I fear I should live over long), did once give me a lesson for Sallust, which, as I shall never forget myself, so is it worthy to be remembered of all those that would come to perfect judgment of the Latin tongue. He said that Sallust was not very fit for young men to learn out of him the purity of the Latin tongue; because he was not the purest in propriety of words, nor choicest in aptness of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences; and therefore is his writing, said he, neither plain for the matter, nor sensible for men's understanding.

"'And what is the cause thereof, Sir?' quoth I. 'Verily,' said he, 'because in Sallust's writing is more art than nature, and more labour than art, and in his labour also too much toil; as it were, with an uncontented care to write better than he could—a fault common to very many men. And therefore he doth not express the matter lively, and naturally with common speech, as

you see Xenophon doth in Greek; but it is carried and driven forth artificially after too learned a sort, as Thucydides doth in his Orations.'

"'And how cometh it to pass,' said I, 'that Cæsar and Cicero's talk is so natural and plain, and Sallust's writings so artificial and dark, when all they three lived in one time?'

"'I will freely tell you my fancy herein,' said he.

"'Surely Cæsar and Cicero, beside a singular prerogative of natural eloquence given unto them by God, both two by use of life were daily orators among the common people, and greatest counsellors in the Senate-house; and therefore gave themselves to use such speech as the meanest should well understand, and the wisest best allow; following carefully that good counsel of Aristotle, *Loquendum, ut multi; sapiendum, ut pauci.* (Speak like the many; think like the few.)

"'Sallust was no such man, neither for will to goodness, nor skill by learning, but ill given by nature, and made worse by bringing up; spent the most part of his youth very misorderly in riot and letchery, in the company of such who, never giving their mind to honest doing, could never inure their tongue to wise speaking. But at the last, coming to better years, and buying wit at the dearest hand (that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that cometh of mischief), moved by the counsel of them that were wise, and carried by the example of such as were good, he first fell to honesty of life, and after to the love of study and learning, and so became so new a man, that Cæsar, being Dictator, made him prætor in Numidia, where he, absent from his country, and not inured with the common talk of Rome, but shut up in his study, and bent wholly upon reading, did

write the history of the Romans. And for the better accomplishing of the same, he read Cato and Piso in Latin, for gathering of matter and truth, and Thucydides in Greek, for the ordering of his history and furnishing of his style."'

The use of old words, Sir John Cheke is further made to say, is not the greatest cause of Sallust's roughness and darkness. "Read Sallust and Tully advisedly together, and in words you shall find small difference. Yea, Sallust is more given to new words than to old; though some writers say the contrary." He then gives some examples, after which he continues: "I could be long in reciting many such like, both old and new words in Sallust: but in very deed, neither oldness nor newness of words maketh the greatest difference betwixt Sallust and Tully; but, first, strange phrases made of good Latin words, but framed after the Greek tongue, which be neither choicely borrowed of them, nor properly used by him; then, a hard composition, and crooked framing of his words and sentences; as a man would say, English talk placed and framed outlandish-like."

Having concluded his report of this discourse of Sir John Cheke's, our author proceeds: "Some men perchance will smile, and laugh to scorn this my writing, and call it idle curiosity, thus to busy myself in picking about these small points of grammar, not fit for my age, place, and calling to trifle in. I trust that man, be he never so great in authority, never so wise and learned, either by other men's judgment or his own opinion, will yet think that he is not greater in England than Tully was at Rome; nor yet wiser nor better learned than Tully was himself: who at the pitch of threescore years, in the midst of the broil betwixt Cæsar and Pompey,

when he knew not whither to send wife and children, which way to go, where to hide himself; yet in an earnest letter, among his earnest counsels for those heavy times, concerning both the common state of his country and his own private affairs, he was neither unmindful nor ashamed to reason at large, and learn gladly of Atticus, a less point of grammar than these be, noted of me in Sallust: as whether he should write, *ad Piræea, in Piræea*, or *in Piræeum*, or *Piræeum, sine prepositione.* And in those heavy times he was so careful to know this small point of grammar, that he addeth these words, 'Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magnâ me molestiâ liberâris.' [If you will resolve me this question, you will deliver me from what gives me great annoyance.]

"If Tully at that age, in that authority, in that care for his country, in that jeopardy for himself, and extreme necessity of his dearest friends, being also the prince of eloquence himself, was not ashamed to descend to these low points of grammar in his own natural tongue; what should scholars do? yea, what should any man do, if he do think well-doing better than ill-doing, and had rather be perfect than mean, sure than doubtful, to be what he should be indeed, and not seem what he is not, in opinion? He that maketh perfectness in the Latin tongue his mark, must come to it by choice and certain knowledge, and not stumble upon it by chance and doubtful ignorance. And the right steps to reach unto it be these, linked thus orderly together,—aptness of nature, love of learning, diligence in right order, constancy with pleasant moderation, and always to learn of them that be best; and so shall you judge as they that be wisest. And these be those rules which worthy

Master Cheke did impart unto me concerning Sallust, and the right judgment of the Latin tongue."

We give entire the few but pregnant sentences in which the style of Cæsar is characterised:

"Cæsar, for that little of him that is left unto us, is like the half face of a Venus, the other part of the head being hidden, the body and the rest of the members unbegun; yet so excellently done by Apelles, as all men may stand still to maze and muse upon it; and no man step forth with any hope to perform the like.

"His seven books 'De Bello Gallico,' and three 'De Bello Civili,' be written so wisely for the matter, so eloquently for the tongue, that neither his greatest enemies could ever find the least note of partiality in him (a marvellous wisdom of a man, namely writing of his own doings), nor yet the best judges of the Latin tongue, nor the most envious lookers upon other men's writings can say any other but all things be most perfectly done by him.

"Brutus, Calvus, and Calidius, who found fault with Tully's fulness in words and matter, and that rightly, for Tully did both confess it and mend it, yet in Cæsar they neither did, nor could, find the like, or any other fault.

"And therefore thus justly I may conclude of Cæsar, that whereas in all others the best that ever wrote in any time or in any tongue, in Greek (I except neither Plato, Demosthenes, nor Tully), some fault is justly noted, in Cæsar only could never yet fault be found.

"Yet nevertheless, for all this perfect excellency in him, yet it is but one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither; when we must look for that example to follow, which hath a perfect head, a whole

body, forward and backward, arms, and legs, and all."

Here the work ends, at least in the form in which we have it. It will be observed, that of the four writers, whose characters the author had proposed to draw, only three are formally treated of; and that there are no observations on Declamation, the last of the six ways which he had enumerated for the learning of tongues. Yet, in his preface, as we have seen, he appears to state distinctly that the work was finished. Considering the circumstances and manner of its publication, it is not unlikely that the concluding portion of the treatise, though really prepared by Ascham, may have disappeared in the interval of several years that elapsed before his papers were sent to the press.

OF EDUCATION.

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

BY JOHN MILTON.

MASTER HARTLIB,

I am long since persuaded that to say and do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us than simply the love of God and of mankind. Nevertheless, to write now the reforming of education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced but by your earnest entreaties and serious conjurements; as having my mind diverted for the present in the pursuance of some other assertions, the knowledge and the use of which cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth and honest living with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus or transpose my former thoughts; but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and incitement of great good to this island, and as I hear you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom and some of the highest authority among us, not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts,

and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have used in this matter both here and beyond the seas, either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think, that so reputed and so valued as you are, you would, to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument; but that the satisfaction which you profess to have received from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point I neither ought nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined. I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is either of divine or human obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea, which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you, therefore, that I have benefited herein among old renowned authors I shall spare; and to search what many modern Januas and Didactics more than ever I shall read have projected, my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations which have flowered off, and are, as it were, the burnishing of many contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of learning is, to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible as by orderly coming over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother-dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful. First, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind is our time lost in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities; partly in a preposterons exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses, and orations, which are the acts of ripest judg-

ment, and the final work of a head filled by long reading and observing with elegant maxims and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit; besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well-continued and judicious conversing among pure authors, digested, which they scarce taste. Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory they were led to the praxis hereof in some chosen short book lessoned thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things and arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. And for the usual method of teaching arts, I deem it to be an old error of universities, not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that instead of beginning with arts most easy (and those be such as are most obvious to the sense), they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of logic and metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate, to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fathomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning,

mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them, with the sway of friends, either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous divinity: some allured to the trade of law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity, which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees: others betake them to state affairs with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery, and court-shifts, and tyrannous aphorisms, appear to them the highest points of wisdom, instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned: others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity, which indeed is the wisest and safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the errors, and these are the fruits of mis-spending our prime youth at the schools and universities, as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but strait conduct you to a hill-side, where I will point you out the right path of a virtuous and noble education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our

dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs, from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to haul and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles which is commonly set before them as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call, therefore, a complete and generous education, that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve and one-and-twenty, less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at grammar and sophistry, is to be thus ordered:—

First, to find out a spacious house and ground about it fit for an academy, and big enough to lodge one hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attendants, all under the government of one who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct and oversee it done. This place should be at once both school and university, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of law or physic where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, master of art, it should be absolute. After this pattern as many edifices may be converted to this use as shall be needful in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility everywhere. This number, less or more, thus collected, to the convenience of a foot-company or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts as it lies orderly—their studies, their exercise, and their diet.

For their studies: first, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good grammar, either that now used, or any better; and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being far northerly do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth is as ill a hearing as law French. Next, to make them expert in the usefullest points of grammar, and withal to season them and win them early to the love of virtue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of education should be read to them, whereof the Greeks have store, as Cebes, Plutarch, and other Socratic discourses; but in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first books of Quintilian, and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages: that they may despise and scorn all their childish and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly and liberal exercises; which he who hath the art and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incre-

dible diligence and courage, infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardour as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of arithmetic, and, soon after, the elements of geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast till bed-time, their thoughts would be best taken up in the easy grounds of religion and the story of scripture. The next step would be to the authors of agriculture, Cato, Varro, and Columella, for the matter is most easy; and if the language is difficult so much the better; it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good; for this was one of Hercules' praises. Ere half these authors be read, (which will soon be with plying hard and daily,) they cannot choose but be masters of an ordinary prose: so that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author the use of the globes and all the maps, first with the old names and then with the new; or they might then be capable to read any compendious method of natural philosophy; and at the same time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed for the Latin; whereby the difficulties of grammar being soon overcome, all the historical physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus are open before them, and, as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to Vitruvius, to Seneca's Natural Questions, to Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus. And having thus past the principles of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and geography, with a general compact of

physics, they may descend in mathematics to the instrumental science of trigonometry, and from thence to fortification, architecture, enginery, or navigation. And in natural philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity, which he who can wisely and timely do is not only a great physician to himself and to his friends, but also may at some time or other save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only, and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline, which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in nature and mathematics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists, who doubtless would be ready, some for reward and some to favour such a hopeful seminary. And this would give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard will be both facile and pleasant, Orpheus, Hesiod, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Oppian, Dionysius; and, in Latin, Lucretius, Manilius, and the rural part of Virgil.

By this time years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in ethics is called proairesis, that they may

with some judgment contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound endoctrinating, to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue and the hatred of vice, while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius, and those Locrian remnants; but still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangels and apostolic scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of economics. And either now or before this, they may have easily learned at any odd hour the Italian tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them taste some choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian; those tragedies also that treat of household matters, as Trachiniæ, Alcestis, and the like. The next remove must be to the study of politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of political societies, that they may not, in a dangerous fit of the commonwealth, be such poor shaken uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience as many of our great councillors have lately shown themselves, but steadfast pillars of the state. After this they are to dive into the grounds of law and legal justice, delivered first and with best warrant by Moses, and, as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus, Charondas; and thence to all the Roman edicts and tables, with their Justinian; and so down to the Saxon and common laws of England and the statutes. Sundays also and every evening may now be understandingly spent in the highest matters of theology

and church history, ancient and modern: and ere this time at a set hour the Hebrew tongue might have been gained, that the scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect. When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice histories, heroic poems, and attic tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous political orations, offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigour of Demosthenes or Cicero, Euripides or Sophocles. And now, lastly, will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic, therefore, so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place, with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric taught out of the rule of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus*, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus. To which poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtile and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate; I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of grammar, but that sublime art which in Aristotle's Poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castlevetro, Tasso, Mazzoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand master-piece to observe.

* Demetrius, called Phalereus.—*Editor.*

This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-writers be; and show them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things. From hence, and not till now, will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things: or whether they be to speak in parliament or council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought, than we now sit under, oft-times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one-and-twenty, unless they rely more upon their ancestors dead than upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memory's sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattling of a Roman legion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercises and recreations may best agree and become those studies.

THEIR EXERCISE.

The course of study hitherto briefly described is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous schools of Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, and such others, out of which were bred such

a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets, and princes, all over Greece, Italy, and Asia, besides the flourishing studies of Cyrene and Alexandria. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which Plato noted in the commonwealth of Sparta. Whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and these in their academies and Lycæum all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate shall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore, about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise, and due rest afterwards ; but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early. The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard, and to strike safely with edge or point. This will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath ; is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to make them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and gripes of wrestling, wherein Englishmen are wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, to grapple, and to close. And this perhaps will be enough wherein to prove and heat their single strength. The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of music heard or learned, either whilst the skilful organist plies his

grave and fancied descant in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well-studied chords of some choice composer; sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil ditties, which, if wise men and prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners to smooth and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it under vigilant eyes until about two hours before supper, they are, by a sudden alarum or watch-word, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert according to the season, as was the Roman wont; first on foot, then, as their age permits, on horseback to all the art of cavalry; that having in sport, but with much exactness and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and warlike maxims, they may, as it were out of a long war, come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied; they would not suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty men in a company to quaff out or convey into secret hoards the wages of a delusive list and miserable remnant; yet in the meanwhile to be overmastered with a score or two

of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No, certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge which belongs to good men or good governors, they would not suffer these things. But to return to our own institute. Besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad: in those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not, therefore, be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides to all the quarters of the land, learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil for towns and tillage, harbours, and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and sea-fight. These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes, and kekshose. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles but to en-

large experience and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now, lastly, for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate, I suppose is out of controversy.

Thus, Mr. Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of education; not beginning, as some have done, from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope. Many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses; yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy, and very possible according to best wishes, if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

BY JOHN LOCKE.

THIS work, of which the following is an analysis, was published in 1690, and was written, as is stated in the Epistle Dedicatory to Edward Clarke, of Chipley, Esq., some years earlier. The *Thoughts on Education* are extremely discursive and irregular, the same topics being treated of in different places. The author of the following analysis has endeavoured to connect these disjointed parts, and to arrange the materials so as to give more method and unity to the whole; but the opinions given are strictly those of Locke, and though excellent on the whole, they are not set forth as to be altogether implicitly adopted; the progress made in medical science, for instance, has shown that his recommendation of extreme hardship in the early education of the body is altogether erroneous. The original is divided into sections; but from the cause alluded to, it has been found impossible to indicate those divisions in the Analysis. Wherever the words of Locke have been used, they are placed between marks of quotation.

By education Locke understands the training, not of the mind only, a limitation too apt to be given to the sense of the word, but of the body also; and ac-

cordingly the first, and perhaps not the least valuable, portion of his treatise is devoted to a consideration of the important question of physical health, as it relates to children. And in the first place, he strongly reprehends that over-tenderness in mothers which, in their anxiety to shield their offspring from every risk, induces them to clothe them too warmly, and otherwise to confine them at an early age, so that a certain degree of present security is obtained at the expense of a double danger from every subsequent exposure; whereas experience teaches us that the body may be inured by habit to any sufferance of cold or heat. He recommends that a child should be early accustomed to slight clothing, that as soon as his hair grows the use of caps should be discontinued, that he should have his feet washed every day in cold water, and even that his shoes "be made so as to leak water;" which, with some other practises of a similar kind, calculated to strengthen the frame and render it independent, he enforces with much earnestness, deprecating the opposition of the mistress and the maid. With respect to diet, it should be exceedingly plain, and flesh meat should make no part of it during the first three or four years of life. No kindness towards children should induce us to mix up with their food any seasoning that may occasion an early delicacy in the palate, but good dry bread should be made the test of their appetite, which will insure that they do not eat oftener than nature really demands. Amongst the Romans it was a reproach to a man if he indulged in more than one regular meal a day; and a great part of the diseases among Englishmen may be imputed to gross feeding, especially in the article of flesh-meat. So far is Locke from counselling regularity

in meals, that he advises the time of eating to be continually varied,—on this principle, that regularity begets expectation in the stomach, and the disappointment of that expectation must needs produce petulance and ill temper in the child, as often as it occurs; whilst on the contrary a varied system may be as easily established by habit, and will be accompanied with more independence. To prevent children from drinking more than enough, he advises that no draught be permitted them between meals that is not prefaced by a piece of dry bread; and we are to remember that hunger and thirst are as much the creatures, and therefore the subjects, of habit, as any other of our propensities. There is no matter in which servants are more narrowly to be watched than this of diet, for they are but too prone to relieve themselves of trouble and inconvenience by indulging the desires of children. Fruit is generally condemned as unwholesome, and children are led to regard it, like our first parents, with the greater longing, from the rigorous law which restrains them from it. But there is not sufficient discrimination used on this head, for many fruits are not only innocuous, but highly conducive to health, when eaten in their season, and with that moderation without which no food is wholesome. Such fruits are strawberries, cherries, gooseberries, currants, apples, and pears, which should however not be eaten alone, but with bread, and are best at breakfast-time. Sweetmeats of every kind are to be, without exception, banished from the nursery-table. One only desire is to be indulged without restraint,—this is the inclination to sleep; sleep being as necessary to a child as food itself: and with respect to early hours,

the importance of which is universally admitted, this may be observed, that although it may be impossible, in after life, always to maintain the rule in this respect, yet by keeping it inviolate in the child, you may so far provide against future excess that sitting up shall always remain to him a species more or less of discomfort and uneasiness. The younger the child, the more needful the sleep; but there is an age when the desire for sleep is apt to slide into a fault, and any evidences of a lazy disposition must be followed by prompt correction. He must be reduced by degrees to eight hours, which may be considered the proper term of rest for adults. Children ought not to be awakened in a rude manner, but gradually, and with kind words; they experience a certain pain in waking, which should not be added to by noise, especially of a kind to frighten them. The time of sleep is carefully to be observed, but not the manner; and a child should be accustomed to various conditions in his rest: his bed—so that it be always hard—should be made sometimes in one fashion, and sometimes in another, that he may not be unprepared for the vicissitudes of travelling and the many changes that he is certain to encounter in life. Locke is of opinion that physic should never be administered by way of prevention, but only by way of cure, and that costiveness, against which it is usually applied, may be overcome simply by the determined will of the person suffering, and by a habit of regularity in "soliciting nature." He sums up his recommendations on the subject of health in these words:—"Plenty of open air, exercise, and sleep, plain diet, no wine or strong drink, and very little or no physic, not

too warm and strait cloathing, especially the head and feet kept cold, and the feet often used to cold water, and exposed to wet."

The health of the body being duly provided for, the mind next claims our care ; and here it will be proper to give, in Locke's own words, the proposition with which he opens this part of his subject. It conveys the very pith of his doctrine.

"As the strength of the body lies chiefly in being able to endure hardships, so also does that of the mind. And the great principle and foundation of all virtue and worth lies in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, though the appetite lean the other way." (Sect. 33.)

Here, as before, the over-fondness of the mother is the first subject of observation, as it is the first barrier in the way of the child's improvement. It is not unusual even to find some little perverse tricks rather admired than reproved, as being thought not unbecoming the innocence of childhood. Whether this be the result of tenderness or of a weak judgment in the parents, it is equally reprehensible, and fails not to produce consequences in the end which the parents themselves are the first to complain of, though they choose to be ignorant of the share they had in the mischief. The amusement which children afford to grown-up people, occasions them too often to be treated like play-things. Their humours are indulged for the sake of their lively spirits, and they are not to be crossed lest they change the scene and turn entertainment into trouble. Also because they are presumed to be in-

capable of any great vices at so early an age, people consider it quite harmless to allow them a full license for any little improprieties they may have a mind to, forgetting that the proportion of the fault to the age is the same, and that, by indulgence then, they will come to arrogate to themselves the same privilege when a riper age shall bring with it desires and passions no longer innocent. This culpable negligence of the mind and disposition of the child during its tenderest years, when every impression made is of such lasting consequence, is the more surprising, when we consider how much judicious management and elaborate attention are bestowed even on dogs and horses, whose temper and character are wont to be taken notice of from the earliest period, and checked and guided in a thousand ways with a view to their future utility and well being. It is only our own offspring that we neglect in this point, and "having made them ill children, we foolishly expect they should be good men." But there is commonly a worse evil than neglect in early education; this is what Locke calls "the downright teaching them vice;" and it is seen chiefly in those moments when nothing perhaps is further from the minds of the parents than the injury they are committing. In the way of pastime, children are taught to strike those around them, and to take a childish revenge on anything which gives them pain, because forsooth their little hands can do no harm: but is not this teaching them a principle of violence, innocent indeed in its present results, but pregnant with the seeds of future vice? In the same way the foundations of pride are laid, and nothing is thought more harmless than to trick a child out in finery, and fondle it the more for its pretty looks. Lying

is too frequently taught by example; in apprentices and servants, it is even used to be commended, so long as it serves the purposes of the master,—and is it to be expected that a child after this will refrain from lying and prevarication when he can make it serve his own purpose? The love of eating and drinking is fostered by the obvious importance attached to those pleasures by grown people, and by their being too often proposed in the shape of pleasure or reward to children. The first thing a child should be made to know, is, that those things which are given to him are given because they are considered proper for him to have, and not because they are pleasant; and in order to implant at once an early acquaintance with disappointment and restraint, whatever a child importunately demands should, for that very reason, be refused him; to which this rule must be added, that anything so refused is never to be conceded to crying, or all mastery will be lost.

In the opinion of Locke, awe of the parent is the first principle which should be implanted in a child's mind, for this being acquired, obedience and respect will follow of themselves, and then affection will be easily added to the rest, without endangering authority; but, on the other hand, authority cannot with the same ease be raised on a groundwork of love. Notwithstanding these opinions, Locke is opposed to corporal punishment; all he contends for is, that whatever rigour is needed, is needed most at first; it is to be relaxed as the child grows older; herein directly opposing the usual method, which is to begin with tenderness, and resort to severity afterwards. Although it be so important a part of education to discipline the minds of children, yet great care must be had that the

spirit be not broken, for extravagance may more easily be turned to good account than tameness. The subject of punishments being one of vital consequence in every system of education, we shall be more particular here in using our author's own words. The following passages are taken from various parts of the work. Of the worse than useless effects of chastisement in controlling the passions, he says :—" For what other motive, but of sensual pleasure and pain, does a child act by, who drudges at his book against his inclinations, or abstains from eating unwholesome fruit that he takes pleasure in, only out of fear of whipping? He in this only prefers the greater corporal pleasure, or avoids the greater corporal pain. And what is it, to govern his actions and direct his conduct by such motives as these? What is it, I say, but to cherish that principle in him, which it is our business to root out and destroy? And, therefore, I cannot think any correction useful to a child, where the shame of suffering for having done amiss does not work more upon him than the pain." "Such a sort of slavish discipline makes a slavish temper." "His natural inclination by this way is not at all altered, but on the contrary heightened and increased, and after such restraint breaks out usually with the more violence;" or, "if severity does prevail over the present unruly distemper, it is often by bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous disease, by breaking the mind. Ingenuous shame and the apprehension of displeasure are the only true restraint." "Shame in children has the same place that modesty has in women, which cannot be kept and often transgressed against."

Rewards, with little exception, are as pernicious as punishments; and are, for the most part, no better than

a composition, by which one pleasure is proposed in lieu of another, and so no habit of self-denial gained. Pleasures are not to be denied, but they should always be made to seem the result of a general state of esteem with the parents, and not the reward of a particular act. And yet there are kinds both of rewards and punishments, that may safely be employed; in short, it is the mind, not the body, that is to be worked upon; esteem and affection on the one hand, shame and disgrace on the other, are the materials to be used to this end. We are to seize upon those sensibilities which nature has given, and early mould them to the purposes of virtue. "Make them in love with the pleasure of being well thought on." "Shame them out of their faults." The principle of reputation, though it is not the true ground of virtue—which is our obedience to God,—yet is that which comes nearest to it, and is especially the proper guide for children. With respect to the natural gaiety of children, it is to be encouraged, and any noise or inconvenience it may occasion cheerfully to be submitted to, in consideration of the health and spirits which its indulgence tends to bestow. It is a great fault in education to burden children's minds with rules and precepts about their conduct, which are seldom understood, and therefore soon forgotten; and it is still more unreasonable to visit with punishment the infraction of such rules. Teach rather by example, and let not too much depend on memory. "Make but few laws, but see they be well observed when once made." The grand business is to form habits, and this can only be done by patient and continual practice, and all those attempts at compendious methods of instruction by forms and regulations are only so many plans of escape, so

many evasions of the duty devolving on us as parents or governors. One great advantage attending a practical system is, that frequent observation brings us acquainted with the peculiar genius of the child, which cannot too soon be discovered, whether with a view to the formation of character or the choice of congenial pursuits. "Observe what the native stock is." "Every one's natural genius should be carried as far as it can." Affectation may sometimes, though not often, be seen growing in children, and is then the result of some perversion in the education. They should not be too much perplexed with lectures about good-breeding, which will more readily come to them when it comes as the graceful outward consequence of a moral refinement than when it is made the subject of rules and directions. Affectation is often the result of possessing the form before the spirit of good-breeding. As far at least as a proper confidence, grounded in self-possession, may go towards perfecting the manners, they should be helped; and dancing should be taught early with this view. But there is nothing graceful or becoming that has not its foundation in the mind; therefore, be that the fortress in every case—begin every operation there, and for the rest—"Never trouble yourself about those faults which you know age will cure." When children are scolded before company for faults in behaviour, it not unfrequently happens that the parents are the real culprits, who have not, really, sufficiently attended to the correction of those faults, and who lay the blame on the children only to divert it from themselves. The choice of servants is a matter of no slight importance in the education of a family. Folly, vulgarity, or dishonesty in a servant will be sufficient to counteract and destroy

the effects of the best system. Either servants, therefore, must thoroughly be free from every suspicion, which is almost impossible, or children must be sedulously restricted from their company. To create in them a preference for the company of their parents, everything in the shape of pleasure should proceed from the latter.

The question, whether a private or a public education be most replete with advantage, is one of difficulty, from the mixture of good and evil that is in both. The greater innocence which recommends a domestic education is usually thought to be counterbalanced by that ignorance of the world which accompanies it, whilst the bustle and spirit of a public school are tainted with violence, deceit, or false pride. In considering this question, it must be remembered, that "Virtue is harder to be got than a knowledge of the world." The only real value that any quality of the mind, or of the body either, can fairly pretend to, is the degree of its subserviency to the cause of virtue. Violence is no virtue, though courage is; and modesty and steadiness are no faults, though a soft and tame disposition is one, and one which cannot be too much censured. The true advantage of confidence is the power which it gives for the preservation of honour and morality: how then can confidence answer this, its only legitimate purpose, when it is the offspring of a vicious experience? Nor is roughness courage, nor cunning wisdom, but rather the fictitious substitutes of the virtues they personate, and are so far from helping to form them, that they act in direct opposition to their spirit. To lay the foundation of character in assurance and self-sufficiency, and then to labour at a superstructure of modesty and virtue, is to begin at the wrong end; but the basis being in virtue, there is

no weight of other materials, whether for ornament or utility, which it will not nobly support. Inasmuch as a private education, then, is more conducive to the early establishment of right moral principles, it is to be preferred to a public education; and with respect to those drawbacks that are used to be complained of, there are none which may not be removed by proper methods. A boy, who is instructed by a tutor at home, should have every opportunity afforded him of mixing in company, and be encouraged to act and converse as his own reason dictates to him, and not be too much fettered by prescription, nor teased with directions in matters of trifling consequence; he should be left as much to his own discretion as may be compatible with the objects of his education. "But," says Locke, in concluding this head, "if after all it shall be thought by some that the breeding at home has too little company, and that at ordinary schools not such as it should be for a young gentleman, I think there might be ways found out to avoid the inconveniences on the one side and the other." *

That maxim of the ancients—"*Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*" (the utmost reverence is due to children)—is of great wisdom, and teaches us to forbear in their sight from every act or word that can possibly offend that sense of truth and propriety which is native to them. If this respect is wanting on the part of the parents, what respect can they hope to secure from their children? Punishment and rebuke must seem to

* He does not anywhere suggest the means of remedying the "inconveniences" on the side of *public* education. Nor does he observe that a private domestic education, as here developed, is, in the majority of cases, impossible on account of the expense.

proceed from a just displeasure, or they lose their power; but with what show of justice can a father reprove his son for a fault, which he does not scruple to commit himself? Or if the commission of such fault be vindicated as the privilege of manhood, with what additional force will not the example operate, when we consider that it is in the nature of children to anticipate the age of maturity, and to affect manly ways? Instead of thus turning this natural disposition into a course of mischief by supplying it with an ill direction, rather let it be made serviceable to a good purpose. This will be accomplished, if those actions and occupations which are deemed proper for the child are made to appear the privilege of a superior age; by which means they will be rendered the objects of ambition and desire, instead of being regarded—as they too often are—with feelings of aversion. Whatever has been said against the use of the rod, may be equally urged against harsh language, which can scarcely ever do good, and must often do harm. It forfeits the child's respect, it forfeits his affection, and, what is worse, by frequency loses its own power. A child readily distinguishes between the language of passion and that of reason, and soon comes to despise the former; and when this is the case, there immediately results an inferiority on the part of the parent or teacher, which is entirely subversive of the necessary influence and authority. For one fault only should children be chastised, and this is obstinacy; yet here only when all other means of correction have been tried in vain; and when it is done, let it if possible be so contrived that the shame, and not the pain, of the rod shall be the severest part of the punishment. How reluctantly our author recommends this last alternative, the following

sentences will show:—"This is certain, if it does no good, it does great harm."—There must be—"a nice study of children's tempers and weighing their faults well, before we come to this sort of punishment."—"We must be sure it *is* obstinacy."—"Nor is that hastily to be interpretated obstinacy or wilfulness, which is the natural product of their age or temper."*

Although obedience ought to be sufficiently secured by a sense of duty, and a veneration of the parent, early instilled, yet are children to be reasoned with. Here again advantage is to be taken of nature; for children take a pride in being treated as rational beings, and this pride is to be cherished and made a handle to turn them into virtuous courses. The meaning of what they are directed to do should, as far as possible, be explained to them, that they may be impressed with this general confidence—that what is required of them is just and reasonable, and that those to whom they yield

* Furthermore, Locke is of opinion that when corporal punishment becomes necessary, it should never be carried into effect on the instant, lest it be—or even lest it *seem* to be—the result of passion, but should be solemnly deferred; also that some discreet servant should have the execution of the punishment, and not the parent, though the latter should be present and give the order for it: this is to provide against the possibility of a personal aversion on the part of the child for its father or mother. But, here and in every other place where Locke mentions corporal punishment, there is evinced the same hesitation and irresolution. The necessity is still to be so "urgent," and the case one of such "extremity," that we can hardly tell whether his mind was finally made up as to the propriety of the remedy in any case. Even when he winds himself up to his purpose, he does not seem to be capable of a positive, unqualified affirmation. "Then, *perhaps*, it will be fit to do it so that the child should not quickly forget it." Lastly, he declares that in the event of flogging, once fairly tried, failing to effect the object of improvement, it must not be persevered in; if it does not produce that result, "it will look more like the fury of an enraged enemy than the good-will of a compassionate friend." "I know not what more he (the father) can do, but *pray for him*."

obedience really love them and are seeking their good. In the selection of a tutor, no care, no trouble, no expense, compatible with the station of the parent, should be spared; extent of acres and a large patrimony are nothing in comparison with the fortunate choice of a tutor. The difficulty is great, but the pains worth taking.* The matter of learning or scholarship is far from being the primary qualification; the first consideration should be—his moral character, because his first duty will be to protect the moral character of his pupil, of which he cannot be the fit conservator who has no care for his own. The next consideration is his breeding, and knowledge of the world; the former ought to be such as to impart civility and elegance to the manners of his pupil, for without breeding all the other acquirements are obscured and depreciated; the latter ought to prepare him for society, by giving him a due foreknowledge of what he may expect, the temptations with which his path will be strewed, the deceitful practices of men, and the full extent of good and evil, that the youth may not come forth into the living world only fortified with the rusty equipage of a dead language. The most dangerous stage in human life is the passage from the boy to the man, and it is to smooth this passage and make it safe and easy, that the tutor's services are most valuable. As, sooner or later, the

* The following anecdote, which Locke relates, after Montaigne, affords a striking illustration, by contrast, of one of the advantages which this age of news and newspapers possesses over its predecessors. It will be evident to the reader what was "*wanted*" in this case:—

"The learned Castalio was fain to make trenchers at Basil, to keep himself from starving, when his (Montaigne's) father would have given any money for such a tutor for his son, and Castalio have willingly embraced such an employment upon very reasonable terms; *but this was for want of intelligence.*" (§ 91.)

grievous evils that exist in the world must come to the knowledge of every man, it is proper that they should be gradually disclosed to him, so that they may not bewilder him with their variety or mislead him by their novelty, when he comes to be thrown in contact with them. Concealment can answer no good purpose, and by being allied to deception must lower the credit of his education generally, in the eyes of the young man himself, and so only the more strongly incline him to suspect the value of what he has learnt, the justice of the authority to which he has submitted, and the sincerity of his teachers; on whom he will be prone to revenge himself by plunging without restraint into those vicious pleasures, the existence of which they were so unwisely careful to guard from his knowledge. To accomplish the ends here proposed, the tutor must be, as far as possible, a gentleman and a man of the world, and must possess an influence over the mind of his pupil as much by virtue of his personal address and his general experience, as by his learning and acquirements. To secure his authority the better, he should be thought to be invested with more power than he indeed has,—the power of bodily punishment for example, which he should not in reality be allowed. But above all, if you mean your son to respect his tutor, you must—"be sure to use him with great respect yourself, and cause all your family to do so too; for you cannot expect your son should have any regard for one whom he sees you, or his mother, or others slight."

With respect to scholarship, as was before said, it is a consideration—but one of secondary importance. An ordinary skill will be sufficient to direct the mind at first, and to set it fairly in the course it ought to take,

and instruction of any kind can do little more; eminence cannot be attained through the medium of a teacher, but only by the force of unsolicited nature, which is to say genius, and he who is endowed with genius requires little besides. Those to whom much learning is needful or profitable, will therefore of themselves be sufficiently impelled towards the attainment of it. But, in ordinary cases, it is rather exemption from ignorance than depth of science, that is to be desired for a youth, and least of all should we consent to barter away any portion of moral good for value received in Latin and Greek, whatever that may amount to. Therefore a tutor, without being deeply versed in books, may well enough guide a young pupil, since at least he may contrive always to be in advance of him. But for other learning no smattering will suffice, for—" he will never be able to set another right in the knowledge of the world, and above all in breeding, who is a novice in them himself."

It was before observed, that the rigour of parental authority when the son grows up is as unseasonable then, as the tenderness and indulgence granted to an earlier age. The distance and reserve, which may be necessary at first to establish authority, ought to wear off by degrees as reason and discretion increase, and to give way to familiarity and confidence, till the ties of friendship succeed to the colder obligations of filial duty. There should be a reciprocation of kindnesses between father and son, a mutual confidence, a mutual love, which cannot be whilst any stiffness or formality remains; and this must be begun by the father, who should not hesitate to open his heart to his son when years of discretion have rendered him worthy of that communication. " Propose matters to him familiarly,

and ask his advice; and when he ever lights on the right, follow it as his; and if he succeeds well, let him have the commendation."

It is impossible to give rules in education that shall always serve, for as there are not two characters alike, so there are not two cases where the same method of treatment will be attended with the same results. The peculiar temper of the child must be industriously noted, and this at times when he is least under restraint, for so his natural disposition will peep out, and you will be able to form your plans accordingly. There will always be some predominant qualities, good and evil, and these will, more or less, for ever belong to him; but, by this timely knowledge of them, the latter may be so modified and the former so strengthened, as to increase tenfold the value of the general stock. One general truth may be confidently affirmed, viz., that the love of liberty—nay more, the love of dominion—is implanted in all breasts, and comes into operation with the very first emotions of the mind. It will never be necessary to watch the actions of a child to ascertain this; it may safely be taken for granted, and ought to be added to the account in every scheme for his education. Besides this, and accompanying it, is the sense of property and the desire of possession. Almost all the injustice and contention which we witness spring from these roots. They are weeds which rapidly fasten themselves into the character; but, with determination, may be mastered and thrown out in the season of childhood. Children are to have nothing conceded to their fancy, but only to their wants. If they have been rightly educated, they will have been taught to know that their good is sought in every thing that is done for them, and with this confidence

they will learn to leave all matters to the judgment of their guardians. Therefore, although their satisfaction should always as much as possible be considered, any fanciful or wilful preference of one thing to another must be treated as an unallowable movement of caprice, and withstood accordingly. They will thus be taught a habit of suppressing their desires in the outset, and become their own moderators by a virtue founded in necessity. Here, as before, great care must be taken that all these calculations be not overthrown by the intervention of foolish servants. There is one case, however, wherein fancy must be indulged; this is in the choice of games, and the materials of recreation. Here all should be free and unrestricted, for recreation is not good without there be a delight in it, and delight cannot be always amenable to reason, but must depend mostly on fancy. Also the child's particular bent and disposition, which it is so desirable to know, will best be made apparent by leaving his actions free at these moments. But no violence must be suffered at any time to pass uncorrected, and if one child exhibits a disposition to domineer over another, it must be made the subject of immediate reprehension. On the other side, complaints and accusations of one against another should be discouraged, for sufferance without redress is better than an indulged sensitiveness. If the aggressor is to be reprimanded, it should not be in the presence of the aggrieved, but alone. Encourage a contention amongst children who shall surpass the rest in liberality, that by a practice of parting freely with what they have, good-will and good-nature may become habits of the mind. But above all let the principles of justice be inculcated from the first dawn of reason, and every

defection from it—how trifling soever the matter—be noticed and rectified; but not without discriminating between the acts of a perverse will, and the results of mere ignorance. The first evidences of the spirit of injustice, and the same of all considerable vices, should be met with a show of wonder, as if the thing were new and inconceivable; and it is to be remarked likewise with respect to all such vices, that they should never be named, till such time as they come unfortunately under notice; children should not be warned against a fault which they have not yet committed; they should be presumed incapable of it; to talk of it is to set them thinking of it, and this sort of contemplation familiarises the mind with ideas which it might not otherwise have entertained at all. Crying is either from pain or from wilfulness; in either case it is not to be suffered, but promptly checked. Crying, because something is refused, is obstinately disputing the justice of the refusal, and is, therefore, tantamount to disobedience, and to be treated so. For the other sort of crying, the indulgence of it fosters sensibility and effeminacy, and should for that reason be discountenanced as a fault, as much as the other. Fear is not wholly a defect, nor courage in every extent a merit. No one braves danger for its own sake, and if we see a person voluntarily running into danger, it is either by the impulse of some passion, such as rage, pride, and the like; or through ignorance of what he goes to encounter; therefore in manifestations of this kind in children, we are to analyze the moving principle, and satisfy ourselves how far it be genuine. A proper courage is not confined to the objects of personal danger, but is prepared to meet poverty, disgrace, &c.; unless it reaches to this, it is not complete.

The foundation of fear is the sense of pain; therefore the best provision that can be made against a timid habit of mind, is an early training to endurance and self-possession under suffering; and one of the best arguments against the use of the rod is, that bodily pain should not be—as by the rod it is—recognised as the greatest punishment, but boys should be rather taught to despise such terrors, and to look upon shame as the only real thing terrible. A boy who should seem to have an undue concern for his personal safety might be sometimes designedly tried—but only when there was perfect good humour—and a blow given him such as he might bear without complaint; he might in this manner get an ambition to be thought brave, and a new sort of reputation would open to him.

On the subject of cruelty to animals, which seems so extraordinary a vice for children, and yet is so often found in them, Locke delivers some sentiments deserving of the attention of all classes, which we give in his own words.

"They (sect. 116.) who delight in the suffering and destruction of inferior creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate or benign to those of their own kind. Our practice takes notice of this in the exclusion of butchers from juries of life and death.* Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing or tormenting any living creatures. * * * * And truly, if the preservation of all mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one's persuasion, as indeed it is every one's duty, and the true principle to regulate our religion, politics, and morality by, the world would be much quieter, and better natured than it is."—And

* This, however, is a mistake of Locke's. The law makes no such exclusion, and never did.—*Editor.*

again—"This pleasure that they take to put anything in pain that is capable of it, I cannot persuade myself to be any other than a foreign and introduced disposition, a habit borrowed from custom and conversation. People teach children to strike, and laugh, when they hurt, or see harm come to others; and they have the examples of most about them to confirm them in it. All the entertainment and talk of history is of nothing almost but fighting and killing; and the honour and renown that is bestowed on conquerors (who for the most part are but the great butchers of mankind) further mislead growing youth, who by this means come to think slaughter the laudable business of mankind, and the most heroic of virtues. By these steps unnatural cruelty is planted in us; and what humanity abhors, custom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to honour."

Besides cruelty to animals, there is another species of cruelty, or something like it, which must be put down as summarily as the other. Children must not be suffered to treat servants with insolence, as if they were inferior creatures, undeserving of the same kind of civility and consideration which is paid to others; this vanity is to be rooted out, or it will lead in after life to the worst acts of injustice and oppression.

Amongst the various natural propensities which ought to be made use of to further the objects of education, curiosity is one. The inquiries of children are to be hearkened to with patience and attention, and no satisfaction to be withheld from them. Consider well what they seek to know, and enlighten them on that particular point, not throwing in more information than they can pleasantly receive; thus they will be pleased

by such attention, and gratified with their success, and tempted to new questions. Never laugh at their mistakes. But, more than all, never put them off with evasive answers; they soon distinguish between truth and falsehood, and still sooner learn to act on the difference. We are to consider children in the same situation as we should be placed in, if we were thrown on a foreign shore, where everything was new to us, and every trifling object a matter of wonder and curiosity. This reflection should teach us to regard no inquiries of children as too trivial or unimportant. Nor need we be ashamed of the company and conversation of children, from whom a man of reflection may often derive advantages which he would not elsewhere receive. "The native and untaught suggestions of inquisitive children do often offer things that may set a considering man's thoughts on work; and I think that there is frequently more to be learned from the unexpected questions of a child, than the discourses of men, who talk in a road."

One of the worst defects in the disposition is that listlessness sometimes observable, and which, in some cases, is perhaps constitutional. If a child seems to be addicted to this habit, we should carefully observe whether it be universal in him, or only connected with particular times and objects. If during play, or at other times, he evinces an interest in anything, be sure to cultivate that interest, and by awakening his mind more and more, you may get him at last to regard all objects with a greater degree of earnestness. A little timely ridicule may not be amiss in such a case. If he is incapable of applying his mind to a task, set him to some bodily labour in which you can, by overlooking, secure

that he works: this will teach him the power of application, which will thence become more easy of acquirement in the exercises of the mind. If a child has so uncontrollable a love of play as to be altogether unable to settle to study, let him have the tables turned upon him, —that is to say, let the play be enjoined as a task, the study be—at best—only permitted: the love of freedom and self-will will then convert the play into a species of burden,, the study into a covetable relief; he will become so surfeited with the one as to fly to the other with desire. In short, so much depends on association and circumstance, that there is hardly any evil which may not be brought into disfavour and thus stopped, nor any good which may not be invested with attraction, and rendered an object of spontaneous pursuit. Children should not be restricted in the article of playthings, nor in the choice of them; but only a few of the principal kind should be purchased for their use, and for the rest they should be encouraged to exercise their own ingenuity. The confession of faults will be a matter of difficulty at first, and it will be necessary to give a premium for candour by withholding punishment where the error is acknowledged. There must be instilled a jealousy of reputation, and more disgrace must be attached to deception and prevarication than to any faults they can cover. If a child makes an excuse, however, in a case where you are unable to prove that it is false, it must be allowed to pass without any evidence of suspicion; it must seem to be implicitly relied on.

A true notion of the Divine Power ought to be implanted in his mind as early as possible; but scrupulously avoid bewildering him with ideas on this subject which he cannot properly comprehend; a few simple genera-

lities are amply sufficient to create the proper devotional feeling. Discourses concerning spirits should be forborne, as they tend to weaken the mind, and to produce timidity and nervousness. The fear of the dark is not natural, but acquired; and to dispel it, we must point out the use of the dark, and show that it is made by God for our good as well as the light, that it affords us its kind inducement to sleep, and has nothing in it to harm us. If you have educated your son aright, you will have rendered it unnecessary to inculcate good-nature by precept; it will form a fundamental part of his character, and mix in all his actions, sweetening them and making him beloved.

Breeding, or manners, was before noticed; but there are different species of ill-breeding which deserve to be particularised. These are either on the side of deficiency or of excess of confidence. For the first, variety of company is the only cure. For the latter, it comprises these several kinds, viz., roughness, contempt, censoriousness (including raillery and contradiction), and captiousness. Raillery has generally the excuse of wit, and yet it is no more to be commended than the rest; for even where it carries no ill-nature with it, nay, where it is designed to convey some compliment, it is so liable to miscarriage, and so easily misunderstood, that it never can have so much propriety as plainer language. Contradiction and interruption embitter the pleasures of society. If we are in the right, it ought to be satisfaction enough to us; and to prove that another is in the wrong is sufficiently humiliating to him, without adding the injury of intolerance. Nor will the best intentions excuse heat and impatience; if we wish to serve a friend by advice, we best convince him

of our sincerity by displaying a temperate and considerate regard. One other fault in manners is superfluous ceremony; this is never acceptable, and creates that uneasiness which it is the part of good breeding to remove. True politeness does not reside in this or that fashion of doing a thing, a particular bow, or a certain scrape, but only in the heart. "And in good earnest," says Locke in conclusion, "if I were to speak my mind freely, so children do nothing out of obstinacy, pride, and ill-nature, it is no great matter how they put off their hats or make legs."

The system of keeping boys at Latin and Greek for eight or ten years at a school, from which they return as ignorant as they went of all other matters, and in most cases soon forget even that which they have learnt, is not patiently to be endured. The virtue of the child is the first grand object; subsidiary to this, and valuable only as contributing to it, is learning, which is not worth the having if it is to be acquired to the exclusion of every other species of mental cultivation. With respect to studies, and the means of facilitating them, the method hinted at before deserves to be considered. "I have always had a fancy that learning might be made a play and recreation to children."* It was observed, that a relish or distaste might be imparted artificially for almost anything; now this may be done not only in the manner there suggested, viz., by employing one passion against another, but by more direct expedients. Let a

* He mentions further, in confirmation of this view, that, "amongst the Portuguese, it is so much a fashion and emulation, amongst their children, to learn to read and write, that they cannot hinder them from it. They will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it *as if it were forbidden them.*"

ball of iron, for example, be contrived, with spaces, and different letters painted on them; or dice, with letters in the same manner instead of the points; and let some good games be devised that may teach the alphabet in this way. And to sharpen his desire to play at such games, let him suppose that they properly belong to those older than himself. "I know a person who, by pasting on the six vowels on the six sides of a die, and the remaining eighteen consonants on the sides of three other dice, has made this a play for his children, that he shall win who, at one cast, throws most words on these four dice; whereby his eldest son, yet in coats, has played himself into spelling, with great eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it."—"Besides these, twenty other plays might be invented, depending on letters."

The Fables of Æsop, as containing matter at once easy and entertaining, and inculcating, in a familiar way, a quantity of memorable wisdom, may be the best book to put into a child's hands as soon as he can read; and the accompaniment of pictures is on every account to be recommended. It will add much to the utility of these lessons, if he be encouraged to relate the stories he has read to other people, and to converse about them. And let these two rules always be observed; first, that the lesson shall be over before the attention has ceased, so that he goes away with an appetite; and second, that he shall always have the satisfaction of feeling that he has learnt something which he did not know before. To Æsop's Fables should be added the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which he should learn by heart, without waiting to be able to read them. But the promiscuous reading of the Bible

will do harm, not good, while he is still unable to comprehend the abstruse and recondite meanings with which it abounds. Certain portions should be selected for him, especially such stories as he will be able to read with some degree of pleasure as well as instruction; and to this let there be added all such remarkable moral truths, and rules of conduct, as it may be important to fix in his mind. When he comes to be entered in writing, he should not be taught to hold his pen and shape the letters all at once, but the former part of the action should be perfected first.—"I think the Italian way, of holding the pen between the thumb and the forefinger alone, may be best."—Learning to draw will improve his writing-hand, and introduce him to an art highly useful as well as ornamental, which saves much description, and in many cases furnishes the means of definition, where language can hardly suffice; especially if he is intended to travel. Short-hand, whether for dispatch or secrecy, is not less useful, but should not be learned till after a good writing-hand is formed. French and Latin are both necessary to a gentleman's education, and, but for prejudice, might be taught in the same manner, that is to say, by *vivâ voce* instruction. For this purpose the tutor should be able to converse in Latin with tolerable fluency and accuracy; and a much better acquaintance might be made thus with the general character of the language, than by the ordinary drudgery. Let every rule be learnt by the practical application of it, and not by tedious, unillustrated precepts, which cannot make half the impression. Nor is the method of teaching by rote to be depreciated, or deemed superficial; for language is the creature of

custom, not of law; and practice, therefore, not theory, should communicate it. "And I fain would have any one name to me that tongue that any one can learn, or speak as he should do, by the rules of grammar. Languages were made not by rules or art, but by accident, and the common use of the people. And he that speaks them well has no other rule but that; nor anything to trust to, but his memory, and the habit of speaking after the fashion learned from those that are allowed to speak properly, which, in other words, is only to speak by rote." It is not intended by this that books of grammar have no use; but that they may be very well dispensed with by all ordinary learners, who merely seek the common advantages and pleasures which a new language holds out. The science of grammar is for those to study who are led to contemplate the philosophy of language, or who desire to be critics, and make literature their occupation. If then a tutor cannot be had who is able to teach Latin by oral practice, the second best method is by interlineation, or writing under each word in the Latin its corresponding English, with as much literality of translation as possible. In this method, some previous acquaintance with the conjugations and declensions will be necessary to supply the place of *vivâ voce* example. But, indeed, so little need these difficulties frighten any one, that any mother, who chooses, may undertake the Latin herself, if she will only get some one to mark the penultimate for her in words of more than one syllable, and then make the child read with her, in the Latin, the Evangelists, which she can hardly help understanding; and so on with other easy books. It is not generally advisable to

teach by catechising, which is apt to lead to irritation, usually discomposing and alarming the pupil; copious information and ready helps, on the contrary, impart cheerfulness and keep up attention. Whenever trepidation is produced in the child, and his thoughts have received disturbance from without, no further instruction can do any good :—" It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters on a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper."

As the mere acquirement of words possesses no attraction for a child, let his Latin be made the medium of some entertaining knowledge. But if, after all, he is to be sent to a public school, insist upon it that he shall not waste his time at themes and verses. The former are ordinarily given on subjects with which it is impossible the boy should have any acquaintance; but if he had, what chance is there of his arranging his thoughts to any purpose, while writing, or attempting to write, in an ancient language, where all the labour is how to make his words hang together? As to verses, if he has no genius for poetry, they can do him no good; and if he has, it is so dangerous and precarious a gift, that no father, who wishes to see his son happily settled in life, can desire that it should be cherished. The committing long passages to memory is another practice at schools much to be denounced. A good memory is not to be acquired; that which interests the feelings is easily retained in the mind, but a heap of Latin or Greek lines is not worth the pains it costs to remember it, and may make a pedant though it cannot make a scholar. But though this parrot-like repetition of long passages can further no good object, there are many opportunities of tasking the memory with real advantage. Children should every

day have some moral sentiment—some fine saying—some admirable proverb—given them, to learn off, which may not merely exercise the memory, but also afford food for reflection. "It will oblige them often to turn their thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wish them a better intellectual habit."

Of the other branches of education, that which should have precedence of the rest is geography; for this is less irksome and more pleasing and various than the others, and children are seldom seen to set themselves with reluctance to it. Arithmetic comes next, and may be considered a sort of introduction to logic; it should first be made to wait on geography, and recommend itself by its utility in solving questions in connection with the globe, in exhibiting the longitudes and latitudes, and in helping to find places on the map. It will then come to be applied to the celestial globe, and so lead to the study of astronomy. If there are several children, there is no better way of fixing things in the memory than, when one has learnt something, to make him teach it to the others, which the distinction attending the act will always cause him to be eager to do. For geometry, the six first books of Euclid will be enough to learn; if any child possesses a genius for the study, thus much will be sure to discover it, and will enable him to accomplish the rest by himself. With geography, chronology and history ought to be combined. The Roman historians should be the first classical authors put into the hands of boys, beginning with the easiest, such as Justin, Eutropius, Quintus Curtius, &c. For a course of ethics, after the Bible, Cicero's *Offices* should be well perused, to which may be added Puffendorf *de Officio Hominis et Civis,* and Grotius *de*

Jure Belli et Pacis, or the *de Jure naturali et Gentium* of the preceding writer. Such works as these cannot be too frequently in the hands of one who desires to perfect himself in the most necessary parts of knowledge. But above all he should never be content without acquiring a thorough insight into the nature of the constitution, and the history and laws of his own country, which it will be equally needful for him to have, whether he remains in a private station, or seeks to fulfil the duties of a magistrate, or aspires to ministerial honours. Without such knowledge, he cannot perform the part even of a private English gentleman with the dignity or justice proper to the character. Both rhetoric and logic may be useful, if properly pursued ; but the logic of the schools, instead of leading to any advantageous employment of the reason, only sets the mind on quibbles and sophisms that perplex, not elucidate, the truth ; it also teaches a disingenuous habit of trickery and evasion, a love of argumentation for its own sake, and a desire to triumph in words, whatever becomes of sense or propriety. Chillingworth may be read with advantage in connection with this department of knowledge. The art of extemporaneous speaking is of great importance, and should be begun early, children being encouraged to relate stories which they have read, and to give an account of what they know or have seen. The usual faults of stammering and ungraceful speaking are entirely owing to neglect in education, for no nation surpasses England in the charms of eloquence when her public men choose to exercise that art. As soon as a boy can read Latin with tolerable ease, he should study the writings of Cicero, and consider the rules of speech which are given in the first book *de Inventione*, § 20.

For the attainment of an easy and polished style of letter-writing, the same author's *Epistles*, and those of Voiture in the French, may be given him. How little study without practice can avail to give a man conversational ease or excellence in writing, will appear when we compare the cases of a learned country schoolmaster and a well-bred lady. Latin and Greek are to be desired in moderation; but for one who has no intention of devoting himself to a life of literature and criticism, but has to make his way in the world by the force of his general qualifications, the cultivation of his own language is of far greater moment; and we should imitate the Romans in this, who made the Latin language, though it was their mother tongue, a separate and particular article of study. Natural philosophy can never be made a science, and it is in vain to hope to reap any solid additions to our present state of knowledge from metaphysical researches; but as an enlargement of the mind and a means of elevating it to the contemplation of great moral truths, natural philosophy should be studied at all times, the Bible being to be considered as the first step to it. To promote this object, a history of the Bible for young people, with an epitome of the same for children of the earliest reading age, should be made. And it will be well if knowledge of this spiritual kind be made always to precede that other department of philosophy which concerns physics; for this reason, that material nature is so obvious to the senses, and so easily engrosses the understanding, that it is calculated to indispose the mind for the reception of spiritual ideas, if it be not early anticipated by them. And certainly without more than mere matter can suggest to us, it is impossible to

account for the various phenomena in nature,—gravitation for example, which only the express will of God can account for,—or the deluge, which may have been produced by the alteration of the centre of gravity, at God's command, from every point of a circle drawn, at a proper distance, from the centre of the earth. As all systems of natural philosophy may be considered hypothetical and inconclusive, it will not be proper to waste more time upon them than may just fit a man to take a part in conversation on such subjects. One thing may be observed, that the doctrine of the modern Corpuscularians is to be preferred to that of the Peripatetics. Dr. Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, as exhibiting the opinions of the ancient philosophers, will be well worth reading; and Newton, for speculative science, and Boyle, for practical information, cannot be too diligently perused. If classical literature is to be made an object of primary importance, then it will be well if the pupil be made to acquire proper habits of method and application; it is to be hoped he will have begun early in life, when the mind is fresh, and that he will not be content to receive his knowledge at second-hand, but from the fountain-head.* Music is an accomplishment which demands so much time, before even a moderate proficiency can be attained, and—"it engages us often in such odd company, that many think it much better spared: and I have, amongst men of parts and business, so seldom heard any one commended or esteemed for having an excellency in music, that of almost all those things that ever came into the list of accomplishments, I think we may give it the last place."† Fencing and

* In this place Locke quotes several passages of a similar tendency from La Bruer's *Mœurs de Siècle*, p. 577—662.

† It is to be regretted that Locke, who without doubt was

riding ought to be taught, both for the benefit of health and exercise and for the power they give. The only evil consequence to be apprehended from a skill in fencing, is that it may inspire presumption and a proneness to take affronts, and, what is worse, a readiness to give them, from a certain vulgar confidence in the issue of a quarrel. Expertness in wrestling is more to be desired than a moderate skill in fencing, and would always give advantages over the latter in the field of battle. The words of Locke in this place are important, as they touch on duelling. "I shall leave it therefore to the father to consider how far the temper of his son and the station he is like to be in will allow or encourage him to comply with fashions which, having very litile to do with civil life, were formerly unknown to the most warlike nations, and seem to have added little of force or courage to those who have received them; unless we think martial skill or prowess have been improved by duelling, with which fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out, of the world."

In whatever station of life a man may be placed, he ought to be acquainted with at least one *trade*—not superficially or by rote—but by actual practice. Some occupations will be recommended by the utility of what

indebted to Quintilian for many of his thoughts on education—as any one may satisfy himself who chooses to consult the first, and part of the second book of the *Institutiones Oratoriæ*—should not have considered, in a more philosophical spirit, what that author has so well advanced on the subject of music, who does not hesitate to rank it as an essential and indispensable part of education. A far different feeling from Locke's, on this subject, is now getting abroad, and people are beginning to perceive, what the ancients never doubted, that music, instead of being a trivial amusement, is a great agent of moral improvement, by offering a calm domestic enjoyment to take the place of grosser excitements.—*Editor.*

they teach, others by the salutary exercise they exact. Painting is too sedentary; but gardening, turning, and the like, are full of pleasure and advantage, and the example of the ancients sufficiently demonstrates how consistent such exercises are with true honour and dignity. The passion for gaming is a proof of the restlessness of human nature, which must always have some vent for its superabundant activity. This, therefore, ought to be diverted from a vicious direction, and turned upon harmless but agreeable amusements, like those mentioned; and there are such a multitude and variety of ingenious arts, that it is impossible but that every man may find some one to his taste. Nor is the art and practice of keeping accounts less necessary for a gentleman; it will preserve his estate, and enable him at all times to know his real condition. It would be well if the father required of his son to account for the expenditure of whatever money he gives him; but this, only for the sake of keeping up so useful a habit, and not with the intention of prying into all his son's affairs, which no liberal-minded parent will do who remembers how he valued his own freedom when he was young.

Travel, which is usually deemed a necessary part of a gentleman's education, and is so, is yet generally deprived of its beneficial effects by being taken at the wrong time. Young men are sent abroad at an age when their minds are no longer susceptible of those advantages which travelling should give, and when their passions, on the other hand, are especially susceptible of every mischievous impression. The proper season for travel is—either boyhood, that is to say from seven

to fourteen or sixteen years of age, and with a tutor,—or perfect manhood, when his own discretion will be a man's sufficient monitor. In the former case, he will eagerly digest all the information his guide can give him, and will make more progress in language than under any other circumstances. In the latter case, he will benefit most from the observations he will make on the laws and manners of other countries, and from the conversation of foreigners, being then better qualified to form a correct judgment in matters of politics and philosophy.

SERMON.

Preached in the Parish Church of Christ Church, London, on Thursday, May 9, 1745; being the time of the Yearly Meeting of the Children educated in the Charity Schools in and about the cities of London and Westminster. By JOSEPH BUTLER, LL.D., *Lord Bishop of Durham.*

PROVERBS xxii. 6.

Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it.

HUMAN creatures, from the constitution of their nature, and the circumstances in which they are placed, cannot but acquire habits during their childhood, by the impressions which are given them and their own customary actions; and long before they arrive at mature age these habits form a general settled character. And the observation of the text, that the most early habits are generally the most lasting, is likewise every one's observation. Now, whenever children are left to themselves, and to the guides and companions which they choose or by hazard light upon, we find by experience that the first impressions which they take, and course of action they get into, are very bad; and so consequently must be their habits, and character, and future behaviour. Thus, if they are not trained up in the way they should go, they will certainly be trained up in the way they should not go; and in all probability will persevere in

it, and become miserable themselves and mischievous to society: which, in event, is worse, upon account of both, than if they had been exposed to perish in their infancy. On the other hand, the ingenuous docility of children before they have been deceived, their distrust of themselves, and natural deference to grown people, whom they find here settled in a world where they themselves are strangers, and to whom they have recourse for advice as readily as for protection,—which deference is still greater towards those who are placed over them,—these things give the justest grounds to expect that they may receive such impressions, and be influenced by such a course of behaviour, as will produce lasting good habits; and, together with the dangers before-mentioned, are as truly a natural demand upon us to "train them up in the way they should go," as their bodily wants are a demand to provide them bodily nourishment. Brute creatures are appointed to do no more than this for their offspring, nature forming them by instincts to the particular manner of life appointed them, from which they never deviate. But this is so far from being the case of men, that, on the contrary, considering communities collectively, every successive generation is left, in the ordinary course of Providence, to be formed by the preceding one; and becomes good or bad, though not without its own merit or demerit, as this trust is discharged or violated, chiefly in the management of youth.

We ought doubtless to instruct and admonish grown persons, to restrain them from what is evil, and encourage them in what is good, as we are able; but this care of youth, abstracted from all consideration of the parental affection, I say this care of youth, which is the general

notion of education, becomes a distinct subject and a distinct duty, from the particular danger of their ruin, if left to themselves, and the particular reason we have to expect they will do well, if due care be taken of them. And from hence it follows that children have as much right to some proper education as to have their lives preserved; and that, when this is not given them by their parents, the care of it devolves upon all persons; it becomes the duty of all who are capable of contributing to it, and whose help is wanted.

These trite but most important things, implied indeed in the text, being thus premised as briefly as I could express them, I proceed to consider distinctly the general manner in which the duty of education is there laid before us; which will further show its extent, and further obviate the idle objections which have been made against it. And all this together will naturally lead us to consider the occasion and necessity of schools for the education of poor children, and in what light the objections against them are to be regarded.

Solomon might probably intend the text for a particular admonition to educate children in a manner suitable to their respective ranks and future employments; but certainly he intended it for a general admonition to educate them in virtue and religion, and good conduct of themselves in their temporal concerns. And all this together in which they are to be educated, he calls "the way they should go," *i. e.* he mentions it not as a matter of speculation, but of practice. And conformably to this description of the things in which children are to be educated he describes education itself; for he calls it "training them up," which is a very different thing from merely teaching them some truths necessary to be

known or believed. It is endeavouring to form such truths into practical principles in the mind, so as to render them of habitual good influence upon the temper and actions, in all the various occurrences of life. And this is not done by bare instruction; but by that, together with admonishing them frequently as occasion offers; restraining them from what is evil, and exercising them in what is good. Thus, the precept of the apostle concerning this matter is, to " bring up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord" (Eph. vi. 4); as it were by way of distinction from acquainting them merely with the principles of Christianity, as you would with any common theory. Though education were nothing more than informing children of some truths of importance to them, relating to religion and common life, yet there would be great reason for it, notwithstanding the frivolous objections concerning the danger of giving them prejudices. But when we consider that such information itself is really the least part of it, and that it consists in endeavouring to put them into right dispositions of mind, and right habits of living, in every relation and every capacity,—this consideration shows such objections to be quite absurd; since it shows them to be objections against doing a thing of the utmost importance at the natural opportunity of our doing it, childhood and youth; and which is indeed, properly speaking, our only one: for when they are grown up to maturity, they are out of our hands, and must be left to themselves. The natural authority on one side ceases, and the deference on the other. God forbid that it should be impossible for men to recollect themselves, and reform at an advanced age; but it is in no sort in the power of others to gain upon them —to

turn them away from what is wrong, and enforce upon them what is right, at that season of their lives, in the manner we might have done in their childhood.

Doubtless religion requires instruction, for it is founded in knowledge and belief of some truths; and so is common prudence in the management of our temporal affairs: yet neither of them consist in the knowledge or belief even of these fundamental truths; but in our being brought, by such knowledge and belief, to a correspondent temper and behaviour. Religion, as it stood under the Old Testament, is perpetually styled "the fear of God;" under the new, "faith in Christ." But as that fear of God does not signify literally being afraid of him, but having a good heart, and leading a good life, in consequence of such fear; so this faith in Christ does not signify literally believing in him, in the sense that word is used in common language, but becoming his real disciples in consequence of such belief.

Our religion being thus practical, consisting in a frame of mind and course of behaviour suitable to the dispensation we are under, and which will bring us to our final good, children ought by education to be habituated to this course of behaviour, and formed into this frame of mind. And it must ever be remembered, that if no pains be taken to do it, they will grow up in a direct contrary behaviour, and be hardened in direct contrary habits; they will more and more corrupt themselves, and spoil their proper nature; they will alienate themselves farther from God; and not only neglect, but "trample under foot" the means which he, in his infinite mercy, has appointed for our recovery. And, upon the whole, the same reasons which show that

they ought to be instructed and exercised in what will render them useful to society, secure them from the present evils they are in danger of incurring, and procure them that satisfaction which lies within the reach of human prudence, show likewise that they ought to be instructed and exercised in what is suitable to the highest relations in which we stand, and the most important capacity in which we can be considered,—in that temper of mind and course of behaviour which will secure them from their chief evil, and bring them to their chief good : besides that religion is the principal security of men's acting a right part in society, and even in respect to their own temporal happiness, all things duly considered.

It is true, indeed, children may be taught superstition under the notion of religion ; and it is true also that under the notion of prudence they may be educated in great mistakes as to the nature of real interest and good respecting the present world. But this is no more a reason for not educating them according to the best of our judgment, than our knowing how very liable we all are to err in other cases is a reason why we should not, in those other cases, act according to the best of our judgment.

It being then of the greatest importance that children should be thus educated, the providing schools to give this education to such of them as would not otherwise have it has the appearance, at least at first sight, of deserving a place amongst the very best of good works. One would be backward, methinks, in entertaining prejudices against it ; and very forward, if one had any, to lay them aside upon being shown that they were groundless. Let us consider the whole state of

the case. For though this will lead us some little compass, yet I choose to do it; and the rather, because there are people who speak of charity-schools as a new-invented scheme, and therefore to be looked upon with I know not what suspicion: whereas it will appear that the scheme of charity-schools, even the part of it which is most looked upon in this light, teaching the children letters and accounts, is no otherwise new than as the occasion for it is so.

Formerly, not only the education of poor children, but also their maintenance, with that of the other poor, were left to voluntary charities. But great changes of different sorts happening over the nation, and charity becoming more cold, or the poor more numerous, it was found necessary to make some legal provision for them. This might, much more properly than charity-schools, be called a new scheme. For, without question, the education of poor children was all along taken care of by voluntary charities, more or less; but obliging us by law to maintain the poor was new in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Yet because a change of circumstances made it necessary, its novelty was no reason against it. Now, in that legal provision for the maintenance of the poor, poor children must doubtless have had a part in common with grown people. But this could never be sufficient for children, because their case always requires more than mere maintenance; it requires that they be educated in some proper manner. Wherever there are poor who want to be maintained by charity, there must be poor children, who, besides this, want to be educated by charity. And whenever there began to be need of *legal* provision for the *maintenance* of the poor, there must immediately have been need also

of some *particular* legal provision in behalf of poor children for their *education;* this not being included in what we call their maintenance. And many whose parents are able to maintain them, and do so, may yet be utterly neglected as to their education. But possibly it might not at first be attended to, that the case of poor children was thus a case by itself, which required its own particular provision. Certainly it would not appear to the generality so urgent a one as the want of food and raiment; and it might be necessary that a burden so entirely new, as that of a poor-tax was at the time I am speaking of, should be as light as possible. Thus the legal provision for the poor was first settled without any particular consideration of that additional want in the case of children; as it still remains with scarce any alteration in this respect. In the meantime, as the poor still increased, or charity still lessened, many poor children were left exposed, not to perish for want of food, but to grow up in society, and learn everything that is evil, and nothing that is good in it; and when they were grown up, greatly at a loss in what honest way to provide for themselves, if they could be supposed inclined to it. And larger numbers, whose case was not so bad as this, yet were very far from having due care taken of their education. And the evil went on increasing till it was grown to such a degree as to be quite out of the compass of separate charities to remedy. At length some excellent persons, who were united in a society* for carrying on almost every good work, took into consideration the neglected case I have been representing; and first of all, as I understand it, set up

* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

charity-schools, or however promoted them as far as their abilities and influence could extend. Their design was not in any sort to remove poor children out of the rank in which they were born, but, keeping them in it, to give them the assistance which their circumstances plainly called for, by educating them in the principles of religion, as well as civil life; and likewise making some sort of provision for their maintenance: under which last I include clothing them, giving them such learning, if it is to be called by that name, as may qualify them for some common employment, and placing them out to it as they grow up. These two general designs coincide in many respects, and cannot be separated. For teaching the children to read, though I have ranked it under the latter, equally belongs to both: and without some advantages of the latter sort poor people would not send their children to our charity-schools; nor could the poorest of all be admitted into any schools without some charitable provision of clothing. And care is taken that it be such as cannot but be a restraint upon the children. And if this, or any part of their education, gives them any little vanity, as hath been poorly objected, whilst they are children, it is scarce possible but that it will have even a quite contrary effect when they are grown up, and ever after remind them of their rank. Yet still we find it is apprehended that what they have been may set them above it.

But why should people be so extremely apprehensive of the danger that poor persons will make a perverse use of every the least advantage, even the being able to read, whilst they do not appear at all apprehensive of the like danger for themselves or their own children, in respect of riches or power, how much soever; though

the danger of perverting these advantages is surely as great, and the perversion itself of much greater and worse consequence? And by what odd reverse of things has it happened, that such as pretend to be distinguished for the love of liberty should be the only persons who plead for keeping down the poor, as one may speak; for keeping them more inferior in this respect, and, which must be the consequence, in other respects, than they were in times past? For, till within a century or two, all ranks were nearly upon a level as to the learning in question. The art of printing appears to have been providentially reserved till these latter ages, and then providentially brought into use, as what was to be instrumental for the future in carrying on the appointed course of things. The alterations which this art has even already made in the face of the world are not inconsiderable. By means of it, whether immediately or remotely, the means of carrying on business are in other respects improved; "knowledge has been increased*," and some sort of literature has become general. And if this be a blessing, we ought to let the poor, in their degree, share it with us. The present state of things and course of Providence plainly lead us to do so. And if we do not, it is certain, how little soever it be attended to, that they will be upon a greater disadvantage, on many accounts, especially in populous places, than they were in the dark ages: for they will be more ignorant, comparatively with the people about them, than they were then; and the ordinary affairs of the world are now put in a way which requires that they should have some knowledge of letters, which was not

* Daniel xii. 4.

the case then. And, therefore, to bring up the poor in their former ignorance, now this knowledge is so much more common and wanted, would be, not to keep them in the same, but to put them into a lower condition of life than what they were in formerly. Nor let people of rank flatter themselves that ignorance will keep their inferiors more dutiful, and in a greater subjection to them; for surely there must be danger that it will have a contrary effect under a free government such as ours, and in a dissolute age. Indeed the principles and manners of the poor, as to virtue and religion, will always be greatly influenced, as they always have been, by the example of their superiors, if that would mend the matter. And this influence will, I suppose, be greater, if they are kept more inferior than formerly in all knowledge and improvement. But unless their superiors of the present age,—superiors I mean of the middle as well as higher ranks in society,—are greater examples of public spirit, of dutiful submission to authority, human and divine, of moderation in diversions, and proper care of their families and domestic affairs,—unless, I say, superiors of the present age are greater examples of decency, virtue, and religion, than those of former times, for what reason in the world is it desirable that their example should have greater influence over the poor? On the contrary, why should not the poor, by being taught to read, be put into a capacity of making some improvement in moral and religious knowledge, and confirming themselves in those good principles, which will be a great security for their following the example of their superiors, if it be good, and some sort of preservative against their following it, if it be bad? And serious persons will further observe very singular reasons

for this amongst us; from the discontinuance of that religious intercourse between pastors and people in private, which remains in Protestant churches abroad as well as in the church of Rome; and from our small public care and provision for keeping up a sense of religion in the lower rank, except by distributing religious books. For in this way they have been assisted; and any well-disposed person may do much good amongst them, and at a very trifling expense, since the worthy society before-mentioned has so greatly lessened the price of such books. And this pious charity is an additional reason why the poor should be taught to read, that they may be in a capacity of receiving the benefit of it. Vain indeed would be the hope that anything in this world can be fully secured from abuse. For as it is the general scheme of Divine Providence to bring good out of evil, so the wickedness of men will, if it be possible, bring evil out of good. But upon the whole, incapacity and ignorance must be favourable to error and vice; and knowledge and improvement contribute, in due time, to the destruction of impiety as well as superstition, and to the general prevalence of true religion. But some of these observations may perhaps be thought too remote from the present occasion. It is more obviously to the purpose of it to observe, that reading, writing, and accounts are useful, and, whatever cause it is owing to, would really now be wanted in the very lowest stations; and that the trustees of our charity-schools are fully convinced of the great fitness of joining to instruction easy labour of some sort or other, as fast as it is practicable; which they have already been able to do in some of them.

Then as to placing out the poor children, as soon as

they are arrived at a fit age for it, this must be approved by every one, as it is putting them in a way of industry and domestic government at a time of life in some respects more dangerous than even childhood. And it is a known thing that care is taken to do it in a manner which does not set them above their rank; though it is not possible to do it always exactly as one would wish. Yet I hope it may be observed without offence, if any of them happen to be of a very weakly constitution, or of a very distinguished capacity, there can be no impropriety in placing these in employments adapted to their particular cases, though such as would be very improper for the generality.

But the principal design of this charity is, to educate poor children in such a manner as has a tendency to make them good, and useful, and contented, whatever their particular station be. The care of this is greatly neglected by the poor; nor truly is it more regarded by the rich, considering what might be expected from them. And if it were as practicable to provide charity-schools which should supply this shameful neglect in the rich, as it is to supply the like, though more excusable neglect in the poor, I should think certainly that both ought to be done for the same reasons. And most people, I hope, will think so too, if they attend to the thing I am speaking of,—which is the moral and religious part of education, —what is equally necessary for all ranks, and grievously wanting in all. Yet in this respect the poor must be greatly upon a disadvantage, from the nature of the case, as will appear to any one who will consider it.

For if poor children are not sent to school, several years of their childhood of course pass away in idleness and loitering. This has a tendency to give them per-

haps a feeble listlessness, perhaps an headstrong profligateness of mind; certainly an indisposition to proper application as they grow up, and an aversion afterwards not only to the restraints of religion, but to those which any particular calling, and even the nature of society require. Whereas children kept to stated orders, and who many hours of the day are in employment, are by this means habituated both to submit to those who are placed over them and to govern themselves; and they are also by this means prepared for industry in any way of life in which they may be placed. And all this holds abstracted from the consideration of their being taught to read; without which, however, it will be impracticable to employ their time; not to repeat the unanswerable reasons for it before-mentioned. Now several poor people cannot, others will not, be at the expense of sending their children to school. And let me add, that such as can and are willing, yet if it be very inconvenient to them, ought to be eased of it, and the burden of children made as light as may be to their poor parents.

Consider next the manner in which the children of the poor who have vicious parents are brought up in comparison of other children, whose parents are of the same character. The children of dissolute men of fortune may have the happiness of not seeing much of their parents. And this, even though they are educated at home, is often the case, by means of a customary distance between them, which cannot be kept amongst the poor. Nor is it impossible that a rich man of this character, desiring to have his children better than himself, may provide them such an education as may make them so, without his having restraint or trouble in the matter. And the education which children of better

rank must have for their improvement in the common accomplishments belonging to it is of course, as yet, for the most part attended with some sort of religious education. But the poor, as they cannot provide persons to educate their children, so, from the way in which they live together in poor families, a child must be an eye and ear witness of the worst part of his parents' talk and behaviour. And it cannot but be expected that his own will be formed upon it. For as example in general has very great influence upon all persons, especially children, the example of their parents is an authority with them when there is nothing to balance it on the other side. Now take in the supposition that these parents are dissolute, profligate people; then over and above giving their children no sort of good instruction, and a very bad example, there are more crimes than one in which it is to be feared they will directly instruct and encourage them; besides letting them ramble abroad wherever they will, by which, of course, they learn the very same principles and manners they do at home. And from all these things together such poor children will have their characters formed to vice by those whose business it is to restrain them from it. They will be disciplined and trained up in it. This surely is a case which ought to have some public provision made for it. If it cannot have an adequate one, yet such an one as it can; unless it be thought so rare as not to deserve our attention. But in reality, though there should be no more parents of this character amongst the poor, in proportion, than amongst the rich, the case which I have been putting will be far from being uncommon. Now, notwithstanding the danger to which the children of such wretched parents cannot but be

exposed, from what they see at home; yet by instilling into them the principles of virtue and religion at school, and placing them soon out in sober families, there is ground to hope they may avoid those ill courses, and escape that ruin, into which, without this care, they would almost certainly run. I need not add how much greater ground there is to expect that those of the children who have religious parents will do well. For such parents, besides setting their children a good example, will likewise repeat and enforce upon them at home the good instructions they receive at school.

After all, we find the world continues very corrupt; and it would be miraculous indeed if charity schools alone should make it otherwise; or if they should make even all who are brought up in them proof against its corruptions. The truth is, every method that can be made use of to prevent or reform the bad manners of the age will appear to be of less effect in proportion to the greater occasion there is for it: as cultivation, though the most proper that can be, will produce less fruit, or of a worse sort, in a bad climate than in a good one. And thus the character of the common people, with whom those children are to live in the ordinary intercourse of business and company, when they come out into the world, may more or less defeat the effects of their education. And so likewise may the character of men of rank, under whose influence they are to live. But whatever danger may be apprehended from either or both of these, it can be no reason why we should not endeavour by the likeliest methods we can, to better the world, or keep it from growing worse. The good tendency of the method before us is unquestionable. And I think myself obliged to add, that upon a comparison

of parishes where charity schools have been for a considerable time established with neighbouring ones in like situations which have had none, the good effects of them, as I am very credibly informed, are most manifest. Notwithstanding, I freely own that it is extremely difficult to make the necessary comparisons in this case, and form a judgment upon them. And a multitude of circumstances must come in, to determine, from appearances only, concerning the positive good which is produced by this charity, and the evil which is prevented by it; which last is full as material as the former, and can scarce be estimated at all. But surely there can be no doubt whether it be useful or not to educate children in order, virtue, and religion.

However, suppose, which is yet far from being the case, but suppose it should seem, that this undertaking did not answer the expense and trouble of it, in the civil or political way of considering things, what is this to persons who profess to be engaged in it, not only upon mere civil views, but upon moral and Christian ones? We are to do our endeavours to promote virtue and religion amongst all men, and leave the success to God. The designs of his Providence are answered by these endeavours: "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear;" *i. e.* whatever be the success of them; and the least success, in such cases, is a great and valuable effect.

From these foregoing observations, duly considered, it will appear that the objections which have been made against charity schools are to be regarded in the same light with those which are made against any other necessary things; for instance, against providing for the sick and the aged poor. Objections in this latter case

could be considered no otherwise than merely as warnings of some inconvenience which might accompany such charity, and might, more or less, be guarded against, the charity itself being still kept up; or as proposals for placing it upon some better foot. For though, amidst the disorder and imperfection in all human things, these objections were not obviated, they could not however possibly be understood as reasons for discontinuing such charity; because, thus understood, they would be reasons for leaving necessitous people to perish. Well-disposed persons therefore will take care that they be not deluded with objections against this before us, any more than against other necessary charities, as though such objections were reasons for suppressing them, or not contributing to their support, unless we can procure an alteration of that to which we object. There can be no possible reasons for leaving poor children in that imminent danger of ruin in which many of these must be left, were it not for this charity. Therefore objections against it cannot, from the nature of the case, amount to more than reasons for endeavouring, whether with or without success, to put it upon a right and unexceptionable foot in the particular respects objected against. And if this be the intention of the objectors, the managers of it have shown themselves remarkably ready to second them; for they have shown even a docility in receiving admonitions of anything thought amiss in it, and proposals for rendering it more complete. And, under the influence of this good spirit the management of it is really improving; particularly in greater endeavours to introduce manufactures into these schools, and in more particular care to place the children out to employments

in which they are most wanted, and may be most serviceable, and which are most suitable to their ranks. But if there be anything in the management of them which some particular persons think should be altered, and others are of a contrary opinion, these things must be referred to the judgment of the public, and the determination of the public complied with. Such compliance is an essential principle of all charitable associations, for without it they could not subsist at all; and by charitable associations multitudes are put in mind to do good, who otherwise would not have thought of it; and infinitely more good may be done than possibly can by the separate endeavours of the same number of charitable persons. Now, he who refuses to help forward the good work before us, because it is not conducted exactly in his own way, breaks in upon that general principle of union, which those who are friends to the indigent and distressed part of our fellow-creatures will be very cautious how they do in any case; but more especially will they beware how they break in upon that necessary principle in a case of so great importance as is the present. For the public is as much interested in the education of poor children as in the preservation of their lives.

This last, I observed, is legally provided for. The former is left among other works of charity, neglected by many who care for none of these things, and to be carried on by such only as think it their concern to be doing good. Some of you are able and in a situation to assist in it in an eminent degree, by being trustees, and overlooking the management of these schools, or in different ways countenancing and recommending them, as well as by contributing to their maintenance; others can assist

only in this latter way. In what manner and degree then it belongs to you, and to me, and to any particular person, to help it forward, let us all consider seriously; not for one another, but each of us for himself.

And may the blessing of Almighty God accompany this work of charity, which he has put into the hearts of his servants in behalf of these poor children; that being now "trained up in the way they should go, when they are old they may not depart from it." May he of his mercy keep them safe amid the innumerable dangers of this bad world through which they are to pass, and preserve them unto his heavenly kingdom.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

By FRANCIS WAYLAND, Junior.
PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY.

[In March, 1830, a society was established at Boston in the United States, called the American Institute of Instruction. It consisted chiefly of teachers, but is open to any one "of good moral character, interested in the subject of education," a dollar being paid on admission, and an annual subscription of a like sum, by every member. At the meetings, the principal of which takes place in August of each year, and continues for several days, the members are occupied with discussions on questions brought forward relative to matters connected with education, and lectures are delivered upon similar subjects. The Society have also instituted prizes for essays on subjects appointed by them. By the constitution of the Society, the Board of Directors are empowered to appoint competent persons to deliver an address at the annual meeting, and lectures "on such subjects relating to education as they may deem expedient and useful;" and they are also to collect such facts as may promote the general interests of the Society. The censors are to publish such of these as "may tend to throw light on the subject of education, and aid the faithful instructor in the discharge of his duty." Two volumes have been published, containing much valuable matter, and from these volumes we take the following

Introductory Discourse, delivered by Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, at the first annual meeting, and shall avail ourselves in the course of this work of a few of the lectures delivered before this Society.]

In the long train of her joyous anniversaries, New England has yet beheld no one more illustrious than this. We have assembled to-day, not to proclaim how well our fathers have done, but to inquire how we may enable their sons to do better. We meet, not for the purposes of empty pageant, nor yet of national rejoicing, but to deliberate upon the most successful means for cultivating, to its highest perfection, that invaluable amount of intellect, which Divine Providence has committed to our hands. We have come up here to the city of the Pilgrims, to ask how we may render their children most worthy of their ancestors and most pleasing to their God. We meet to give to each other the right hand of fellowship in carrying forward this all-important work, and here to leave our professional pledge, that, if the succeeding generation do not act worthily, the guilt shall not rest upon those who are now the Instructors of New England.

Well am I aware that the occasion is worthy of the choicest effort of the highest talent in the land. Sincerely do I wish that upon such talent the duty of addressing you this day had devolved. Much do I regret that sudden indisposition has deprived me of the time which had been set apart to meet the demands of the present occasion, and that I am only able to offer for your consideration such reflections as have been

snatched from the most contracted leisure, and gleaned amid the hurried hours of languid convalescence. But I bring, as an offering to the cause of education, a mind deeply penetrated with a conviction of its surpassing importance, and enthusiastically ardent in anticipating the glory of its ultimate results. I know, then, that I may liberally presume upon your candour, while I rise to address those, to very many of whom it were far more beseeming that I quietly and humbly listened.

The subject which I have chosen for our mutual improvement is, *The object of intellectual education; and the manner in which that object is to be attained.*

I. It hath pleased Almighty God to place us under a constitution of universal law. By this we mean, that nothing, either in the physical, intellectual, or moral world, is in any proper sense contingent. Every event is preceded by its regular antecedents, and followed by its regular consequents; and hence is formed that endless chain of cause and effect which binds together the innumerable changes which are taking place everywhere around us.

When we speak of this system as subjected to universal law, we mean all this; but this is not all that we mean. The term law, in a higher sense, is applied to beings endowed with conscience and will, and then there is attached to it the idea of rewards and punishments. It is then used to signify a constitution so arranged, that one course of action shall be inevitably productive of happiness, and another course shall be as inevitably productive of misery. Now, in this higher sense it is strictly and universally true, that we are placed under a constitution of law. Every action which we perform is as truly amenable as inert matter

to the great principles of the government of the universe, and every action is chained to the consequences which the Creator has affixed to it as unalterably as any sequence of cause and effect in physics. And thus, with equal eloquence and truth, the venerable Hooker has said, "of law there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the very greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy."

Such a constitution having been established by a perfectly wise Creator, it may be easily supposed that it will remain unchangeable. His laws will not be altered for our convenience. We may obey them or disobey them, we may see them or not see them, we may be wise or unwise, but they will be rigidly and unalterably enforced. Thus must it ever be, until we have the power to resist the strength of Omnipotence.

Again; it is sufficiently evident that the very constitution which God has established is, with infinite wisdom and benevolence, devised for just such a being, physical, intellectual, and moral, as man. By obedience to the laws of God, man may be as happy as his present state will allow. Misery is always the result of a violation of some of the laws which the Creator has established. Hence, our great business here, is, *to know and obey the laws of our Creator.*

That part of man by which we know, and, in the most important sense, obey the laws of the Creator, is

called MIND. I use the word in its general sense, to signify, not merely a substance, not matter capable of intellection, but one also capable of willing, and to which is attached the responsibility of right and wrong in human action. And, still further, it is one of the laws of mind, that increased power for the acquisition of knowledge, and a more universal disposition to obedience, may be the result of the action of one mind upon another, or of the well-directed efforts of the individual mind itself.

Without some knowledge of the laws of nature, it is evident that man would immediately perish. But it is possible for him to have only so much knowledge of them as will barely keep generation after generation in existence, without either adding anything to the stock of intellectual acquisition, or subjecting to his use any of the various agents which a bountiful Providence has everywhere scattered around for the supply of his wants and the relief of his necessities. Such was the case with the aborigines of our country, and such had it been for centuries. Such, also, with but very few and insignificant exceptions, is the case in Mohammedan and Pagan countries. The sources of their happiness are few and intermitting—those of their misery multiplied and perpetual.

Looking upon such nations as these, we should involuntarily exclaim, What a waste of being, what a loss of happiness, do we behold! Here are intelligent creatures placed under a constitution devised by infinite wisdom to promote their happiness. The very penalties which they suffer are so many proofs of the divine goodness—mere monitions to direct them in the paths of obedience. And besides this, they are endowed with

a mind perfectly formed to investigate and discover these laws, and to derive its highest pleasure from obeying them. Yet that mind, from want of culture, has become useless. It achieves no conquests. It removes no infelicities. Here, then, must the remedy be applied. This immaterial part must be excited to exertion, and must be trained to obedience. Just so soon as this process is commenced, a nation begins to emerge from the savage and enter upon the civilized state. Just in proportion to the freedom and the energy with which the powers of the mind are developed, and the philosophical humility with which they are exercised, does a people advance in civilization. Just in proportion as a people is placed under contrary influences, is its movement retrograde.

The science which teaches us how to foster these energies of mind is the science of education. In few words, I would say, *the object of the science of education is, to render mind the fittest possible instrument for* DISCOVERING, APPLYING, *or* OBEYING, *the laws under which God has placed the universe.*

That all this is necessary, in order to carry forward the human species to the degree of happiness which it is destined, at some time or other, to attain, may be easily shown.

The laws of the universe must be *discovered.* Until they are discovered, we shall be continually violating them and suffering the penalty, without either possibility of rescue or hope of alleviation. Hence the multitude of bitter woes which ignorance inflicts upon a people. Hence the interest which every man should take in the progress of knowledge. Who can tell how countless are the infelicities which have been banished from the

world by the discovery of the simple law that a magnetized needle, when freely suspended, will point to the north and south?

Nor is it sufficient that a law be discovered. Its relations to other laws must be ascertained, and the means devised by which it may be made to answer the purposes of human want. This is called *application*, or *invention*. The law of the expansive power of steam was discovered by the Marquis of Worcester, in 1663. It remained, however, for the inventive power of Watt and Fulton, more than a century afterwards, to render it subservient to the happiness of man. From want of skill in a single branch of this department of mental labour, the human race has frequently been kept back for ages. The ancients, for instance, came very near the invention of the printing-press. Thus has it been with several other of the most important inventions. It makes a thoughtful man sad, at the present day, to observe how many of the most important agents of nature we are obliged to expose to the gaze of lecture-rooms, without being able to reveal a single practical purpose for which they were created.

But this is not all. A man may know a law of his Creator, and understand its application; but if he do not *obey* it, he will neither reap the reward nor escape the penalty which the Creator has annexed to it. Here we enter, at once, into the mysterious region of human will, of motive, and of conscience. To examine it at present is not my design. I will only remark, that some great improvement is necessary in this part of our nature, before we can ever reap the benefits of the present constitution of the universe. I do not think that any philosopher can escape the conviction, that when

important truth is the subject of inquiry, we neither possess the candour of judgment, nor the humility of obedience, which befits the relations existing between a creature and his Creator. In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to well-known facts. Galileo suffered the vengeance of the Inquisition for declaring the sun to be the centre of the planetary system! How slow were the learned in adopting the discoveries of Hervey or of Newton! Still more visible is this obstinacy, when the application of a moral law is clearly discovered. Though supported by incontrovertible argument, how slowly have the principles of religious toleration gained foothold even in the civilized world! After the slave trade had been proved contrary to every principle of reason and conscience, and at variance with every law of the Creator, for nearly twenty years did Clarkson and his associates labour, before they could obtain the act for its abolition. And to take an illustration nearer home,—how coolly do we look on and behold lands held by unquestionable charter from Almighty God, in defiance of an hundred treaties by which the faith of this country has been pledged—in violation of every acknowledged law, human and divine, wrested from a people, by whose forbearance, a century ago, our fathers were permitted to exist! I speak not the language of party. I eschew and abhor it; but "I speak with the freedom of history, and I hope without offence." These examples are at least sufficient to show us, that the mind of man is not, at present, the fittest instrument possible for obeying the laws of his Creator, and that there is need, therefore, of that science which shall teach him to become such an instrument.

The question which will next arise is this:—Can

these things be taught? Is it practicable, by any process which man can devise, to render mind a fitter instrument for discovering, applying, and obeying the laws of his Creator? We shall proceed, in the next place, to show that all this is practicable.

1. It is practicable to train the mind to greater skill in *discovery*. A few facts will render this sufficiently evident.

It will not be denied that some modes of thinking are better adapted to the discovery of truth than others. Those trains of thought which follow the order of cause and effect, premises and conclusion, or, in general, what is considered the order of the understanding, are surely more likely to result in discovery than those which follow the order of the casual relations, as of time, place, resemblance, and contrast, or, as it is commonly called, the order of the imagination. Discovery is the fruit of patient thought, and not of impetuous combination. Now it must be evident that mind directed in the train of the understanding, will be a far better instrument of discovery than if under the guidance of the imagination. And it is evident that the one mode of thinking may be as well cultivated as the other, or as any mode whatsoever. And hence has arisen the mighty effect which Bacon produced upon the world. He allured men from the weaving of day-dreams to the employment of their reason. Just in proportion as we acquire skill in the use of our reason will be the progress of truth.

Again; there can be no doubt that, in consequence of the teaching of Bacon, or, in other words, in consequence of improvement in education, the human mind has, in fact, become a vastly more skilful instrument of

discovery than ever it was before. In proof of this, I do not refer merely to the fact, that more power has been gained over the agents of nature, and that they have been made to yield a greater amount of human happiness to the human race, within the last one hundred years, than for ten times that period before. This, of itself, would be sufficient to show an abundant increase of intellectual activity. I would also refer to the fact that several of the most remarkable discoveries have been made by different men at the same time. This would seem to show, that mind, in the aggregate, was moving forward, and that everything with which we are now acquainted must soon have been discovered, even if it had eluded the sagacity of those who were fortunate enough to observe it. This shows that the power of discovery has already been in some degree increased by education. What has been so auspiciously begun can surely be carried to far greater perfection.

Again; if we inquire what are those attributes of mind on which discovery mainly depends, I think we shall find them to be patient observation, acute discrimination, and cautious induction. Such were the intellecual traits of Newton, that prince of modern philosophers. Now it is evident that these attributes can be cultivated, as well as those of taste or imagination. Hence, it seems as evident that the mind may be trained to discovery, that is, that mind may be so disciplined as to be able to ascertain the particular laws of any individual substance, as that any other thing may be done.

2. By *application* or *invention* I mean the contriving of those combinations by which the already discovered laws of the universe may be rendered avail-

able to the happiness of man. It is possible to render the mind a fitter instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose.

In proof of this remark, I may refer you to the two first considerations to which I have just adverted; namely, that some trains of thought are more productive of invention than others, and that, by following those trains, greater progress has, within a few years, been made in invention, than within ten times that period before.

It is proper, however, to remark, that the qualities of mind on which invention depends are somewhat dissimilar from those necessary to discovery. Invention depends upon accuracy of knowledge in detail, as well as in general, and a facility for seizing upon distant and frequently recondite relations. Discovery has more to do with the simple quality, invention with the complex connexions. Discovery views truth in the abstract; invention views it either in connexion with other truth, or in its relation to other beings. Hence has it so frequently taken place that philosophers have been unable to avail themselves of their own discoveries; or, in other words, that the powers of discovery and of invention are so seldom combined in the same individual. In one thing, however, they agree. Both depend upon powers of mind capable of cultivation; and, therefore, both are susceptible of receiving benefit beyond any assignable degree, by the progress of education.

3. The mind may be rendered a fitter instrument for obeying the laws of the universe. This will be accomplished, when men, first, are better acquainted with the laws of the universe; and second, when they are better

disposed to obey them. That both of these may be accomplished, scarcely needs confirmation.

For, first, I surely need not consume your time to prove, that a much greater amount of knowledge of the laws of the universe might be communicated in a specified time, than is communicated at present. Improvement in this respect depends upon two principles:—first, greater skill may be acquired in teaching; and second, the natural progress of the sciences is towards simplification. As they are improved, the more proximate relations of things are discovered, the media are rendered clearer, and the steps in the illustration of truth less numerous. As a man knows more of the laws of his Creator, he can surely obey them better.

And secondly, those dispositions which oppose our meek and humble obedience may be corrected. Candour may be made to take the place of prejudice, and envy may be exchanged for a generous ardour after truth. This a good teacher frequently accomplishes now. And that the Gospel of Jesus Christ does present a most surprising cure for those dispositions which oppose the progress of truth and interfere with our obedience to the moral laws of our being, no one who, at the present day, looks upon the human race with the eye of a philosopher, can with any semblance of candòur venture to deny.

It would not be difficult, did time permit, by an examination of the various laws, physical, intellectual, and moral, under which we are placed, to show that the principles which I have been endeavouring to illustrate are universal, and apply to every possible action of the most eventful life. It could thus be made to appear that

all the happiness of man is derived from discovering, applying, or obeying the laws of his Creator, and that all his misery is the result of ignorance or disobedience; and hence, that the good of the species can be permanently promoted, and permanently promoted only, by the accomplishment of that which I have stated to be the object of education.

I have thus far endeavoured to show, from our situation as just such creatures, namely, under laws of which we come into the world ignorant, and laws which can only be known by a mind possessed of acquired power, that there is, in our present state, the need of such a science as that of education. I have endeavoured to show what is its object, and also to show that that object may be accomplished. I will now take leave of this part of the subject with a few remarks upon the relation which this science sustains to other sciences.

1. If the remarks already made have the least foundation in truth, we do not err in claiming for education the rank of a distinct science. It has its distinct subject, its distinct object, and is governed by its own laws. And, moreover, it has, like other sciences, its corresponding art,—the art of teaching. Now if this be so, we would ask how any man should understand this science, any more than that of mathematics or astronomy, without ever having studied it, or having even thought about it? If there be any such art as the art of teaching, we ask how it comes to pass that a man shall be considered fully qualified to exercise it without a day's practice, when a similar attempt in any other art would expose him to ridicule? Henceforth, I pray you, let the ridicule be somewhat more justly distributed.

2. The connexions of this science are more extensive

than those of any other. Almost any one of the other sciences may flourish independently of the rest. Rhetoric may be carried to high perfection, whilst the mathematics are in their infancy. Physical science may advance, whilst the science of interpretation is stationary. No science, however, can be independent of the science of education. By education their triumphs are made known; by education alone can they be multiplied.

Hence, thirdly, it is upon education that the progress of all other sciences depends. A science is a compilation of the laws of the universe on one particular subject. Its progress is marked by the number of these laws which it reveals, and the multiplicity of their relations which it unfolds. Now we have before shown that the number of laws which are discovered will be in proportion to the skill of mind, the instrument which is to discover them. Hence, just in proportion to the progress of the science of education will be the power which man obtains over nature, the extent of his knowledge of the laws of the universe, and the abundance of means of happiness which he enjoys.

If this be so, it would not seem arrogant to claim for education the rank of the most important of the sciences, excepting only the science of morals. And hence we infer, that it presents subjects vast enough, and interests grave enough, to task the highest effort of the most gifted intellect, in the full vigour of its powers. Is it not so? If it be so, on what principle of common sense is it that a man is considered good enough for a teacher because he has most satisfactorily proved himself good for no one thing else? Why is it, that the utter want of sufficient health to exercise any other profession is frequently the only reason why a man should be thrust into this, which

requires more active mental labour in the discharge of its duties than any other profession whatsoever? Alas! it is not by teachers such as these that the intellectual power of a people is to be created. To hear a scholar say a lesson, is not to educate him. He who is not able to leave his mark upon a pupil never ought to have one. Let it never be forgotten, that, in the thrice resplendent days of the intellectual glory of Greece teachers were in her high places. Isocrates, Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle were, without question, stars of by very far the first magnitude, in that matchless constellation which still surrounds with undiminished effulgence the name of the city of Minerva.

And lastly, if the science of education be thus important, is it not worthy of public patronage? Knowledge of every sort is valuable in a community, very far beyond what it costs to produce it. Hence it is for the interest of every man to furnish establishments by which knowledge can be increased. Of the manner in which this should be afforded, it belongs to political economists to treat. Let me suggest only a very few hints on the subject. Books are the repositories of the learning of past ages. Longer time than that of an individual's life, and greater wealth than falls to the lot of teachers, are required to collect them in numbers sufficient for extensive usefulness. The same may be said of instruments for philosophical research. Let these be furnished, and furnished amply. Let your instructors have the use of them, if you please, gratuitously; and if you do not please, not so, and then, on the principles which govern all other labour, let every teacher, like every other man, take care of himself. Give to every man prominent and distinct individuality. Remove all the

useless barriers which shelter him from the full and direct effect of public opinion. Let it be supposed, that, by becoming a teacher, he has not lost all pretensions to common sense; and that he may possibly know as much about his own business as those, who, by confession, know nothing at all about it. In a word, make teaching the business of men, and you will have men to do the business of teaching. I know not that the cause of education, so far as teachers are concerned, requires any other patronage.

I come now to the second part of the subject, which, I am aware, it becomes me to treat with all possible brevity.

II. In what manner shall mind be thus rendered a fitter instrument to answer the purposes of its creation?

To answer this question, let us go back a little. We have shown that the present constitution of things is constructed for man, and that man is constructed for the present constitution. As mind, then, is the instrument by which he avails himself of the laws of that constitution, it may be supposed that it was endowed with all the powers necessary to render it subservient to his best interests. Were it possible, therefore, it would be useless to attempt to give it any additional faculties. All that is possible, is, to cultivate to higher perfection those faculties which exist, or to vary their relations to each other. In other words, to cultivate to the utmost the original faculties of the mind, is to render it the fittest possible instrument for discovering, applying, and obeying the laws of its creation.

This is, however, an answer to the question in the abstract, and without any regard to time. But the question

to us is not an abstract question; it has regard to time. That is to say, we do not ask simply what is the best mode of cultivating mind, but what is the best mode of doing it now, when so many ages have elapsed, and so many of the laws of the universe have been discovered. Much knowledge has already been acquired by the human race, and this knowledge is to be communicated to the pupil.

All this every one sees at first glance to be true. Nearly all the time spent in pupilage, under the most favourable circumstances, is in fact employed in the acquisition of those laws which have been already discovered. Without a knowledge of them, education would be almost useless. Without it, there could evidently be no progressive improvement of the species. Education, considered in this light alone, has very many and very important ends to accomplish. It is desirable that the pupil should be taught *thoroughly;* that is, that he should have as exact and definite a knowledge as possible of the law and of its relations. It is desirable that he be taught *permanently;* that is, that the truth communicated be so associated with his other knowledge, that the lapse of time will not easily erase it from his memory. It is important, also, that *no more time be consumed in the process than is absolutely necessary.* He who occupies two years in teaching what might as well be taught with a little more industry in one year, does his pupil a far greater injury than would be done by simply abridging his life by a year. He not only abstracts from his pupil's acquisition that year's improvement, but all the knowledge which would have been the fruit of it for the remainder of his being.

If, then, all that portion of our time which is devoted

to education must be occupied in acquiring the laws of the universe, how shall opportunity be afforded for cultivating the original powers of the mind?

I answer, an all-wise Creator has provided for this necessity of our intellectual nature. His laws, in this, as in every other case, are in full and perfect harmony.

For, first, the original powers of the mind are cultivated by use. This law, I believe, obtains in respect to all our powers, physical, intellectual, and moral. But it must be by the use of each several faculty. The improvement of the memory does not, of necessity, strengthen the power of discrimination; nor does the improvement of natural logical acuteness of necessity add sensibility to the taste. The law on this subject seems to be, that every several faculty is strengthened and rendered more perfect exactly in proportion as it is subjected to habitual and active exercise.

And, secondly, it will be found that the secret of teaching most thoroughly, permanently, and in the shortest time, that is, of giving to the pupil in a given time the greatest amount of knowledge, consists in so teaching as to give the most active exercise to the original faculties of the mind. So that it is perfectly true, that if you wished so to teach as to make the mind the fittest possible instrument for discovering, applying, and obeying the laws of the Creator, you would so teach as to give to the mind the greatest amount of knowledge; and, on the contrary, if you wished so to teach as to give to a pupil, in a given time, the greatest amount of knowledge, you would so teach as to render his mind the fittest instrument for discovering, applying, and obeying the laws of its Creator.

I do not forget that the discussion of the practical business of teaching is, on this occasion, committed to other hands. You will, however, I trust, allow me to suggest here one or two principles which seem to me common to all teaching, and which are in their nature calculated to produce the results to which I have referred.

1. Let a pupil understand everything that it is designed to teach him. If he cannot understand a thing this year, it was not designed by his Creator that he should learn it this year. But let it not be forgotten, that precisely here is seen the power of a skilful teacher. It is his business to make a pupil, if possible, understand. Very few things are incapable of being understood, if they be reduced to their ultimate elements. Hence the reason why the power of accurate and natural analysis is so invaluable to a teacher. By simplification and patience, it is astonishing to observe how easily abstruse subjects may be brought within the grasp of even the faculties of children. Let a teacher, then, first understand a subject himself. Let him know that he understands it. Let him reduce it to its natural divisions and its simplest elements. And then, let him see that his pupils understand it. This is the first step.

2. I would recommend the frequent repetition of whatever has been acquired. For want of this, an almost incalculable amount of invaluable time is annually wasted. Who of us has not forgotten far more than he at present knows? What is understood to-day, may with pleasure be reviewed to-morrow. If it be frequently reviewed, it will be associated with all our other

knowledge, and be thoroughly engraven on the memory. If it be laid aside for a month or two, it will be almost as difficult to recover it as to acquire a new truth ; and it is, moreover, destitute of the interest derived only from novelty. If this be the case with us generally, I need not say how peculiarly the remark applies to the young.

But lastly, and above all, let me insist upon the importance of universal practice of everything that is learned. No matter whether it be a rule in arithmetic, or a rule in grammar, a principle in rhetoric, or a theorem in the mathematics; as soon as it is learned and understood, let it be practised. Let exercise be so devised as to make the pupil familiar with its application. Let him construct exercises himself. Let him not leave them until he feels that he understands both the law and its application, and is able to make use of it freely and without assistance. The mind never will derive power in any other way. Nor will it, in any other way, attain to the dignity of certain, and practical, and available science.

So far as we have gone, then, we have endeavoured to show that the business of a teacher is so to communicate knowledge as most constantly and vigorously to exercise the original faculties of the mind. In this manner he will both convey the greatest amount of instruction, and create the largest amount of mental power.

I intended to confirm these remarks by a reference to the modes of teaching some of the most important branches of science. But I fear that I should exhaust your patience, and also that I might anticipate what will be much better illustrated by those who will come

after me. I shall therefore conclude by applying these considerations to the elucidation of some subjects of general importance.

1. If these remarks be true, they show us in what manner text-books ought to be constructed. They should contain a clear exhibition of the subject, its limits, and relations. They should be arranged after the most perfect method, so that the pupil may easily survey the subject in all its ramifications; and should be furnished with examples and questions to illustrate every principle which they contain. It should be the design of the author to make such a book as could neither be studied unless the pupil understood it, nor taught unless the instructor understood it. Such books, in every department, are, if I mistake not, very greatly needed.

If this be true, what are we to think of many of those school books which are beginning to be very much in vogue amongst us? There first appears, perhaps, an abridgment of a scientific text-book. Then, lest neither instructor nor pupil should be able to understand it without assistance, a copious analysis of each page or chapter or section is added in a second and improved edition. Then, lest, after all, the instructor should not know what questions should be asked, a copious list of these is added to a third and still more improved edition. The design of this sort of work seems to be to reduce all mental exercise to a mere act of memory, and then to render the necessity even for the use of this faculty as small as may be possible. Carry the principle but a little farther, and an automaton would answer every purpose exactly as well as an instructor. Let us put away all these miserable helps, as fast as possible, I

pray you. Let us never forget that the business of an instructor begins where the office of a book ends. It is the action of mind upon mind, exciting, awakening, showing by example the power of reasoning, and the scope of generalization, and rendering it impossible that the pupil should not think; this is the noble and the ennobling duty of an instructor.

2. These remarks will enable us to correct an error which of late has done very much evil to the science of education. Some years since, I know not when, it was supposed, or we have said it was supposed, that the whole business of education was to store the mind with facts. Dugald Stewart, I believe, somewhere remarks that the business of education, on the contrary, is to cultivate the original faculties. Hence the conclusion was drawn that it mattered not what you taught, the great business was to strengthen the faculties. Now this conclusion has afforded to the teacher a most convenient refuge against the pressure of almost every manner of attack. If you taught a boy rhetoric, and he could not write English, it was sufficient to say that the grand object was not to teach the structure of sentences, but to strengthen the faculties. If you taught him the mathematics, and he did not understand the Rule of Three, and could not tell you how to measure the height of his village steeple, it was all no matter—the object was to strengthen his faculties. If, after six or seven years of study of the languages, he had no more taste for the classics than for Sanscrit, and sold his books to the highest bidder, resolved never again to look into them, it was all no matter,—he had been studying to strengthen his faculties, while by this very process his faculties have been enfeebled almost to annihilation.

Now, if I mistake not, all this reasoning is false, even to absurdity. Granting that the improvement of the faculties is the most important business of instruction, it does not follow that it is the only business. What! will a man tell me that it is of no consequence whether or not I know the laws of the universe under which I am constituted? Will he insult me, by pretending to teach them to me in such a manner that I shall, in the end, know nothing about them? Are such the results to which the science of education leads? Will a man pretend to illuminate me by thrusting himself, year after year, exactly in my sunshine? No; if a man profess to teach me the laws of my Creator, let him make the thing plain, let him teach me to remember it, and accustom me to apply it. Otherwise, let him stand out of the way, and allow me to do it for myself.

But this doctrine is yet more false; for even if it be true that it matters not what is taught, it by no means follows that it is no matter how it is taught. The doctrine in question, however, supposes that the faculties are to be somehow strengthened by "going over," as it is called, a book or a science, without any regard to the manner in which it is done. The faculties are strengthened by the use of the faculties; but this doctrine has been quoted to shield a mode of teaching, in which they were not used at all; and hence has arisen a great amount of teaching, which has had very little effect, either in communicating knowledge, or giving efficiency to mind.

Let us, then, come to the truth of the question. It is important what I study: for it is important whether or not I know the laws of my being, and it is important that I so study them that they shall be of use to me.

It is also important that my intellectual faculties be improved, and therefore important that an instructor do not so employ my time as to render them less efficient.

3. Closely connected with these remarks is the question, which has of late been so much agitated, respecting the study of the ancient languages and the mathematics. On the one part, it is urged that the study of the languages is intended to cultivate the taste and imagination, and that of the mathematics to cultivate the understanding. On the other part, it is denied that these effects are produced; and it is asserted that the time spent in the study of them is wasted. Examples, as may be supposed, are adduced in abundance on both sides; but I do not know that the question is at all decided. Let us see whether anything that we have said will throw any light upon it.

I think it can be conclusively proved, that the classics could be so taught as to give additional acuteness to the discrimination, more delicate sensibility to the taste, and more overflowing richness to the imagination. So much as this must, we think, be admitted. If, then, it be the fact that these effects are not produced—and I think we must admit that they are not, in any such degree as might reasonably be expected—should we not conclude that the fault is not in the classics, but in our teaching? Would not teaching them better be the sure way of silencing the clamour against them?

I will frankly confess that I am sad when I reflect upon the condition of the study of the languages among us. We spend frequently six or seven years in Latin and Greek, and yet who of us writes—still more, who of us speaks them with facility? I am sure there must

be something wrong in the mode of our teaching, or we should accomplish more. That cannot be skilfully done, which, at so great an expense of time, produces so very slender a result. Milton affirms, that what in his time was acquired in six or seven years, might have been easily acquired in one. I fear that we have not greatly improved since.

Again, we very properly defend the study of the languages on the ground that they cultivate the taste, the imagination, and the judgment. But is there any magic in the name of a classic? Can this be done by merely teaching a boy to render, with all clumsiness, a sentence from another language into his own? Can the faculties of which we have spoken be improved, when not one of them is ever called into action? No. When the classics are so taught as to cultivate the taste and give vigour to the imagination, — when all that is splendid and beautiful in the works of the ancient masters is breathed into the conceptions of our youth,—when the delicate wit of Flaccus tinges their conversation, and the splendid oratory of Tully, or the irresistible eloquence of Demosthenes, is felt in the senate and at the bar—I do not say that even then we may not find something more worthy of being studied,—but we shall then be prepared, with a better knowledge of the facts, to decide upon the merits of the classics. The same remarks may apply, though perhaps with diminished force, to the study of the mathematics. If, on one hand, it be objected that this kind of study does not give that energy to the powers of reasoning which has frequently been expected, it may, on the other hand, be fairly questioned whether it be correctly taught. The mathematics address the understanding. But they may be so taught as mainly

to exercise the memory. If they be so taught, we shall look in vain for the anticipated result. I suppose that a student, after having been taught one class of geometrical principles, should as much be required to combine them in the forms of original demonstration, as that he who has been taught a rule of arithmetic should be required to put it into various and diversified practice. It is thus alone that we shall acquire that δυναμις αναλυτικη, the mathematical power which the Greeks considered of more value than the possession of any number of problems. When the mathematics shall be thus taught, I think there will cease to be any question whether they add acuteness, vigour, and originality to mind.

I have thus endeavoured very briefly to exhibit the object of education, and to illustrate the nature of the means by which that object is to be accomplished. I fear that I have already exhausted your patience, I will, therefore, barely detain you with two additional remarks.

I. To the members of this convention allow me to say, gentlemen, you have chosen a noble profession. What though it do not confer upon us wealth!—it confers upon us a higher boon, the privilege of being useful. What though it lead not to the falsely named *heights* of political eminence!—it leads us to what is far better, the sources of real power; for it renders intellectual ability necessary to our success. I do verily believe that nothing so cultivates the powers of a man's own mind as thorough, generous, liberal, and indefatigable teaching. But our profession has rewards, rich rewards, peculiar to itself. What can be more delightful to a philanthropic mind than to behold intellectual power increased a hundred fold by our exertions, talent de-

veloped by our assiduity, passions eradicated by our counsel, and a multitude of men pouring abroad over society the lustre of a virtuous example, and becoming meet to be inheritors with the saints in light—and all in consequence of the direction which we have given to them in youth? I ask again, what profession has any higher rewards?

Again, we at this day are in a manner the pioneers in this work in this country. Education, as a science, has scarcely yet been naturalized among us. Radical improvement in the means of education is an idea that seems but just to have entered into men's minds. It becomes us to act worthily of our station. Let us by all the means in our power second the efforts and the wishes of the public. Let us see that the first steps in this course are taken wisely. This country ought to be the best educated on the face of the earth. By the blessing of heaven, we can do much towards the making of it so. God helping us, then, let us make our mark on the rising generation.

OF MORAL EDUCATION.

BY J. DE SAINTEVILLE.

[From the Quarterly Journal of Education, No. XI.]

[THE Quarterly Journal of Education was first issued by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in January, 1831. It was intended to afford a means of recording the "great and interesting events of education, and for communicating the improvements which are made from time to time in the modes of acquiring knowledge." This has been attempted to be carried into effect by essays by various authors, and facts collected from various sources, foreign and domestic, on subjects connected with education in its widest sense, and by reviews of books treating on topics of instruction. The Society, however, guard themselves against being deemed answerable for every separate opinion. They say—"It will of course be their duty not to sanction anything inconsistent with the general principles of the Society. If, therefore, the general effect of a paper be favourable to the objects of the Society, the committee will feel themselves at liberty to direct its publication: the details must be the author's alone, and the opinions expressed on each particular question must be considered as his, and not those of the committee." Nine volumes of this work have now been published, containing a mass of valuable matter; the three following articles

have been selected from it, and we shall likewise draw upon its resources in several future instances.]

The condition of the human race may be considered with reference to three great divisions, which comprehend its whole existence: these are its physical, moral, and intellectual state. At no period in the known history of the world have we any records of the mass of a people possessing, in any degree adequate to procure happiness, a supply of their physical, moral, and intellectual wants. At present, the most numerous class of beings which compose the human race are a prey to many physical sufferings; and all classes of society in all countries, both high and low, are *generally* void, we will not say of moral notions, but of moral habits.

The mode of instruction followed in schools, which *generally* has for its sole object the cultivation of the intellectual powers, is essentially defective and incomplete. And yet we see in all countries honourable and generous men uniting to extend knowledge, instruction, and useful information throughout society; and in England we see enormous sums annually expended with the professed and, we may fairly admit, the real object of diminishing human suffering, and improving human character.

The intentions of these true friends of humanity are certainly beyond all praise, and words are wanting to express the thanks they deserve; but the best intentions may err, if not in the design, at least in the means of accomplishing it. Now, we think that the way for the public teacher to fully accomplish his noble endeavours, and one day reap the delightful fruit of his labours and

his zeal, and indeed the way to make all instruction, both domestic and public, efficacious, is to let *intellectual* be preceded by *moral education*, or at least to combine them. We are, indeed, firmly persuaded that moral education is the basis, the foundation, and the test, not only of every system of instruction, but of the whole social edifice.

It is then to moral education, so much neglected in these times, that we must direct the skill, the attention, and the capacity of every one who devotes himself to instruction.

Instruction by itself is an instrument of which either a good or bad use may be made. That which is learned in elementary schools, and which consists in knowing how to read, write, and cipher, cannot exercise much influence on morals. In fact, we should be puzzled to understand how it would be possible to give a man regular habits and just moral sentiments, by merely teaching him to perform certain operations almost mechanical, such as reading and writing are. We can much easier imagine that even a superior kind of instruction, when purely intellectual, is likely to cause a multitude of social wants to spring up, which, if they are not satisfied, often incite to crime: for instruction multiplies the social relations; it is the soul of commerce and of industry; it also creates among individuals a thousand opportunities of fraud or bad faith, which do not often exist among a rude or ignorant population. We will admit that the cultivation of the intellect *alone* has *some* effect, in so far as it tends to make immediate impulse yield to reason, and tends also to form *some* habits of order and industry. But it is at least *insufficient*.

In England*, in France†, in Germany‡, in the United States§, where a few years ago the happy influence of knowledge upon moral improvement was so much extolled, it is already acknowledged that it is not enough to establish schools in order to stop the progress of demoralization, and that it is necessary to seek out speedily some remedy for the evils which disorder society‖.

* Minutes of Evidence taken by the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the State of Mendicity and Vagrancy in the Metropolis and its Neighbourhood. Ordered to be printed 11th July, 1815—1816.

Mr. Hume's Speech in the House, 1st July, 1812.

Mr. Brougham's Speech, 28th July, 1820.

George Harrison on Education.—*Edinburgh Review*, Nov. 1810.

Livingston on Prison Discipline.

† Rapports de la Société Philanthropique de Paris.

Plan de l'Education pour les Enfans, par M. de Laborde.

Rapport de M. Barbé Marbois à la Société Royale des Grisons, 1815.

Du Système Pénitentiaire, par Lucas.

Etablissament et Direction des Ecoles primaires gratuites d'Adultes, etc. par M. Basset.

‡ Journal de la Société de la Morale Chrétienne, No. 73.

§ Letters on the United States, by Cooper.

‖ Two magistrates of the Cour Royale of Paris, who have recently made a tour through the United States of North America, where, in the course of two years, they have collected a considerable number of documents of the greatest interest relative to the application of the penitentiary system and to criminal statistics, report that, in the state of New York, five hundred thousand children are educated in the public schools out of a population of two millions, and more than two hundred and forty thousand pounds are annually expended for this purpose. It would appear that an enlightened population, which is not in want of any of the capital which agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing industry offer, ought to commit fewer crimes than a population which possesses the latter advantages, without having the same knowledge to turn them to a good account; yet we do not think that the diminution of crime in the north should be attributed solely to instruction. In Connecticut, where education is still more extended than in the state of New York, crimes are seen to multiply to a frightful extent, and if we cannot blame knowledge for this prodigious increase of crimes, we must at least confess that it has not yet the power to prevent them.

It is not our intention here to attempt a complete essay on education; all we propose is, to fix the basis of a good system of instruction, by putting moral education before all other kinds of education, as indeed it seems to us to claim the pre-eminence.

It appears that three conditions are necessary to enable a man to decide as to any course of action, and at the same time to decide well. He requires something to excite him, such as wants, instincts, feelings, or imagination; something to enlighten or direct him, as intelligence and reason; and lastly, he requires an inward strength which renders him capable of submitting instinct to intelligence, the exciting to the directing faculties, and hasty determination to mature reflection.

Without imagination and instincts, a man would not act at all. Without reason and intelligence, he would be in danger of acting ill, and if he had not the power of subjugating passion to reason, of what use would reason be to him? It would be better for him to have been confined to the simple impulses of nature like the brutes, than to have received reason without the power of profiting by it. Reason, if he had not the power to follow its dictates, would only serve to embitter his life, and fill it with useless remorse.

These three orders of faculties, *feeling*, *understanding*, and *virtue*, are not developed at the same time. At first, man only follows his imagination and his passions, and his early determinations are all instinctive. Afterwards his understanding is formed; but habit and inclination continue to make him follow the track of his first impressions, and he persists in doing evil a long time after he is convinced that he could do better. At length, but slowly, he learns to make his actions

coincide in some measure with his understanding, and the impulses of passion with the dictates of knowledge.

The development of his activity follows precisely the same track whatever direction it may take; that is to say, in his actions as in his conduct, in his relation to things as in his relation to himself or his fellow-creatures, he always begins by acting instinctively; then experience begins to warn, and observation to instruct him, and at last he learns to act consistently with his judgment; he does not suffer himself to be led so blindly by his feelings, and his actions are distinguished by less impulse and more reflection.

Now, in what way can his activity become *moral*, and when may we say that it is so?

The adjective *moral* is evidently derived from the Latin *mos*, *moris*, *moralis*. Taking this word then according to its etymology, it would appear that we ought to apply it to every mode of action which has become a habit, custom, or practice, and that we should call an action *moral* when it is habitual, and the constant practice of the people or the individual who performs it.

This, however, is not the case; for, in the first place, we do not call those actions which relate to labour *moral*, however regular and habitual they may be; we reserve this qualification for those which relate to *conduct*. We make a distinction between the *morals* of a people and their *skill;* and whatever name we may give to those habits which direct us in the conduct of life, we do not always say that these habits are *moral*. We only give the name of moral to those habits which govern us when they are worthy to govern us, to serve us for rules, and are proper to form our character or manners. It is universally acknowledged that there are moral habits or manners, and immoral habits or manners.

Thus, as long as our activity is confined to mere labour, as long as it is confined to industry, skill, dexterity, and intelligence, it can neither be moral nor immoral; whether our labours are governed by one unchanging routine, or are in a state of progressive amelioration, they are equally destitute of morality. We may say of an ingenious workman that he is clever, but that does not mean that he is moral; of an orator, that he is eloquent; of a professor, that he is a man of talent, but we do not say that they are moral. Once more, we repeat, this qualification is only applicable to those of our actions which relate to the *conduct of life.*

Again, with respect to conduct, we must observe, that it is not moral while a man's resolves are purely instinctive, and so long as he only follows the impulses of desire, passion, and feeling. Indeed, it is well known that the best feelings may lead a man to do wrong. It is possible that love, friendship, and paternal tenderness may induce a man to commit bad actions: much more then would those feelings which are usually connected with terms of dispraise, such as self-love, hatred, anger, pride or avarice, if he gave himself up to their impulses, lead a man to that which is criminal; though even these feelings are capable of producing happy effects if well directed. In general, our affections, which are almost all good, and worthy of being cherished as stimulants and moving powers, are of no value as directors; and a line of conduct which is only governed by feeling, is very far from deserving the name of moral, as there is no one of our feelings, even amongst the most pure and sympathetic, which does not indispensably require to be regulated.

Further, a man's conduct is not called moral, simply because his feeling is enlightened by intelligence. He must doubtless learn to know what is good before he is

capable of doing good; but, because he learns to know it, it does not follow that he is able to practise it. Demonstrate to a man as much as you please that virtue consists in a certain line of conduct, it is still very doubtful if he will follow it: it is highly probable that, although he knows what is right, he will continue to do wrong. Such is the effect of the disposition of the greater part of mankind.

We know what a wide difference there is between an educated man and a virtuous man, between a man who merely knows what morality is and a moral man; and how much remains for us to do in order to become honest and honourable men, after we have perfectly understood in what honour and honesty consist.

Our conduct, therefore, is not moral so long as we live under the dominion of feeling, because our feelings are liable to lead us astray every moment; nor does it become so by merely enlightening the understanding, for knowledge in the understanding does not necessarily excite the faculties or the heart, and the perception of that which is good does not always give strength to do it. We only become moral men when we accustom our affections and talents to be directed by reason. It is a work that stands alone, a work totally different from that which has for its object the awakening of our sensibility, and from that which tends to perfect our knowledge: for the artist excites our feelings in vain, if he does not teach us the knowledge of what is good; and the philosopher enlightens us in vain, if he does not accustom us to practise it. It is absolutely necessary that, while art moves our feelings, and science instructs our understanding, another kind of labour should teach us to submit our passions to the counsels of reason.

Such is properly, or such at least ought to be, the object of that art which proposes to make us acquire good moral habits. Practical morality certainly requires that our sensibility should be awakened, and our intelligence perfected, for virtue is only composed of feeling and reason; but the grand point, which is totally distinct from the two former, consists in *accustoming* our feeling faculties to act consistently with what is taught by our intellectual faculties; it consists in making us acquire, by certain exercises, the habit of coming to a good resolution, just as art and philosophy consist in accustoming us, also by practice, the one to have a nice perception, and the other to exercise a sound judgment.

We may observe in society several classes of persons and professions, who labour, or have attempted to labour, for the formation of morals. This is, or ought to be, one of the principal objects of domestic education, and of that of schools. This also is the principal object that should be aimed at by those who profess to teach of things relating to a future life; those who, under all systems of religion, devote themselves to the office of the priesthood. Indeed, government has no duty more imperative, no task more important, than that of forming the morals of the people; and if the immediate object of its intervention is to settle quarrels, to put a stop to or remedy disorders, its true and final duty is to prevent all these evils by endeavouring to correct the vicious habits which produce them. But to return to our subject: moral instruction we consider to be an integral and essential part of all education.

The first thing that strikes us in the present day, when we reflect upon domestic education, and especially that of schools in their relation to the formation of

morals, is either the total want of such schools, or their insufficiency with reference to this object.

We do not speak of a speculative and purely intellectual inculcation of morality. We do not say that the education which is obtained in boarding-schools entirely neglects to instruct us in what we ought to do, and what we ought to avoid. It is quite true that our memory is charged with the names of a great many vices and virtues, and that we are told something of the evils which result from vice, and the happiness which proceeds from virtue, with the motives which we have for abstaining from the one, and for practising the other. But this instruction is extremely imperfect. Many actions are recommended as good, which are indifferent or really bad: many motives are assigned to good actions, which are either insufficient or vicious. This mode of instruction, however, does exist, and, right or wrong, we exercise our talents on morality in the same way that we exercise them on a multitude of other subjects. But it is *only* our talents that we thus exercise. It is, if you please, a part of the education of the understanding, a branch of a course of philosophy, but it is nothing more; the impressions we receive in relation to this do not extend to our *will;* we are not taught to practise the good which we are taught to comprehend; in a word, the great thing that education neglects is *the formation of character and morals.*

This neglect is so apparent, that it is difficult not to perceive it; but it becomes particularly striking when we consider the care bestowed upon our other faculties. How many arts are occupied in preserving and bringing to perfection our physical and intellectual powers! What a variety of exercises are given to our talents! What a length of time devoted to their culture! The under-

standing of a youth is kept fully exercised for twelve or fourteen hours a day: he is made to go through a course of Greek, Latin, elocution, logic, mathematics, chemistry, natural philosophy, &c. But while whole days are given to the exercise of his understanding, scarcely a moment is employed in educating his will. It is the same with girls. What are they not taught in the present day! Masters of every description strive to fix in their memories all kinds of knowledge, and to impart to their bodies and limbs graceful forms and an easy carriage; but we can hardly say that they form their hearts to the practice of a single virtue. The education we receive in schools may perhaps teach us to discuss the precepts of morality; but we can hardly say that it teaches us to observe them. We learn how to argue, not how to live.

"We wait till our life has passed away," says Montaigne, "to learn how to live;" and he adds—"Le soing et la despense de nos pères ne visent qu'à nous meubler la teste de science, et pour ce qui est de la vertu, peu de nouvelles. Criez d'un passant, ô le savant homme! et d'un autre, ô le bon homme! Notre peuple ne manquera pas de tourner ses yeux et son esprit vers le premier*." "Diogène pourrait encore se moquer des musiciens qui savent accorder leurs flutes et qui ne savent pas accorder leurs mœurs; des orateurs qui s'escriment à disputer sur la justice, et qui sont incapables de la pratiquer†." "Me veulx-je armer contre la crainte de la mort? C'est aux despens de Seneca. Veulx-je tirer de la consolation pour moy ou pour un aultre? Je l'emprunte de Cicero. Je l'eusse prinsse en moy-mesme si l'on m'y eust exercé‡."

* Essais, tom. i. ch. 24.—*Du Pédantisme.* † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

It is, however, true, that neither our minds nor our bodies can be educated without the concurrence of our will, and, consequently, not without accustoming this faculty to desire that which the others ought to do, and without labouring more or less to give it instruction. Our education, such as it is, by compelling us to perform a certain work, necessarily inculcates certain virtues. Every kind of labour requires us to have a certain command over ourselves; every kind of labour exercises our patience in a greater or less degree, and makes us acquire habits of activity, application, and a sort of regularity, &c. Besides, education cannot develope our sensitive and intellectual faculties, without at the same time acting indirectly upon our will; it cannot awaken good feelings in us without exciting us to do good; it induces us in some degree to practise it, simply because it makes us know what it is, and shows us the advantages we may derive from it.

We also admit that this education is not absolutely confined to telling us what we ought to do: we are stimulated also to put it in practice by a more or less judicious custom of praise or blame, reward or punishment. The single circumstance of the pupils in a school living together has, to a certain extent, the effect of reforming that which is violent or unjust in their wills, for each of the pupils is more or less restrained by the rest, and obliged to check his evil dispositions.

The result of education, then, is to render our habits more or less moral, though it does not directly keep that object in view. But what we condemn in it is precisely that it does not make the formation of our moral habits a special object, because it does not subject the will, as it does the understanding, to regular exercise, and does

not reduce virtue to a science, like knowledge; although it is very well known that if it is necessary to study a science, it is much more indispensable to serve an apprenticeship to virtue.

This absence in education of exercises suited to form our moral character has been growing more striking ever since those changes in our social life which have deprived the Church of much of its former influence in Europe. While men were entirely under the influence of the Church, we observe that exercises were enjoined which were analogous to what is, in our opinion, now required. To the observance of duties purely religious there were united certain usages, which might be considered as exercises suited to correct our evil inclinations, and make us acquire good habits. The exercise of prayer, the being obliged to retire and present ourselves frequently before God, good resolutions taken in the morning, self-examination in the evening, the confession of our faults to God or to our spiritual guide, whom we consulted on the mode of correcting our moral imperfections,—all these things had undoubtedly this object in view. We shall not enter into a particular examination of these practices; we simply state that they did exist, that their aim was to correct our morals, and that, under this system, to know how to live was generally the object of a formal labour, and an express and positive study. But in proportion as this system decayed, the exercises we speak of were neglected: by degrees the form alone was attended to, while the true sense was forgotten; and what now remains of religious instruction is, in many schools, nothing more than a mere form, more fitted to demoralize the youthful mind than to inspire it with sentiments of religion and virtue.

Generally speaking, then, this religious *discipline* has been abandoned, but in giving it up it has not been replaced by a substitute; and in the education of the present day, the only thing that strikes us relative to moral habits, is, as we have said before, the almost total absence of those exercises which are proper to form them. The only thing now thought important is to enlighten the understanding, and keep it constantly in exercise. It is from this that everything seems to be expected. We seem to think that the labour bestowed on the mind is sufficient to correct the faults of the character, and that the diffusion of knowledge must necessarily be accompanied by a reform in morals. These ideas are so thoroughly established, that the only thing, for example, that seems to be thought necessary to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes of society is the diffusion of primary instruction. It is supposed that these classes will become more moral, simply because they possess the rudiments of knowledge, and that in fact the number of delinquents in a given population is always in proportion to the number of individuals who can neither read nor write. This requires a little examination.

On what basis is this opinion founded in France? On the observation, that in those departments where instruction is most diffused, the fewest crimes are committed. But is this the case? Let us look at the whole question. To come to a conclusion, it is necessary to determine exactly the distribution of instruction, and that of crimes, in the different parts of the kingdom, during a certain number of years. We have now a sure method of knowing the extent of the diffusion of instruction. Ever since the census taken in 1827, the Minister

of War subjects all the young men who are called to serve in the army to an examination, so that the number of those who can read and write is known at the moment their names are drawn. It is from the observations made on this subject during three years that a table of the comparative proportion of instruction in the different departments has been formed. This table deserves the greater confidence, because it includes, during the same space of time, men in all classes of society without distinction. What strikes us at first, when we cast our eye over the table, is the *clear and luminous character* almost universally extended over the thirty northern departments. In some of these departments, among a hundred young men, whose names are on the lists, they reckoned from seventy-one to seventy-four, or nearly three-fourths of them, who were able to read and write. It is not in the southern provinces, as it is asserted, that the greatest ignorance is found, but in the western and central provinces, in Berri, Limosin, and Bretagne. Among a hundred young men of the department of Finistèrre, there were only fifteen who knew how to read and write; in Morbihan, fourteen; in Cher, Haute Vienne, and Allier, thirteen; while in Corrèze only twelve were found, or about one-eighth part.

In the island of Corsica, which was thought far behind the other departments in point of instruction, half the young persons, forty-nine in a hundred, can read and write. There are sixty departments which have not come up to this proportion.

Let us now look at this table in reference to crimes against persons and property. According to the Essay on the Moral Statistics of France, recently presented to

the *Académie des Sciences*, the *maximum* of crimes is committed in the island of Corsica, in the south-eastern provinces, and in Alsace. Is it in these places that there is the most ignorance? Our table of the proportion of instruction furnishes proof to the contrary. Again the *minimum* is found in the western and central provinces. Can it be said that it is here where most instruction is diffused? It is, therefore, evident that the coincidence above-mentioned does not exist.

Unfortunately, then, this supposition is not true; but even, if it were, it does not seem to us to be referred to its proper causes, or at least to all of them. There are several good reasons why fewer crimes should be committed where there is a greater number of persons who can read and write. The fact of a population being more instructed, supposes it to be in more easy circumstances, less exposed to the temptations incident to want and misery, and to consist of a greater number of well-regulated families, among whom good examples are found. In order for this population to know how to read and write, it is necessary for it to have passed some time in schools, where it has been superintended, restrained, and obliged to conform to certain habits of order and discipline. The talent it has acquired allows it to read books from which some good stimulus may be obtained. It is not, therefore, surprising if it should be less disposed to evil, and should commit fewer crimes; but this result, when obtained, is not *solely* due to the little literary instruction which it has received. It is not a necessary consequence that there should be a union between the art of reading and the virtue of good behaviour, nor even generally between talent and virtue.

In order to act right, it is certainly necessary to know

what is right; but it is well known what a difference there is between the knowledge and the practice. To practise the good we know is a very different merit from that of only knowing it, and is not acquired by the same means. We can be made learned without being sure of being made moral, and we know that the greatest casuists are not always the most estimable men.

It follows, therefore, that there is something extremely erroneous in that disposition of mind which leads us in the present day to expect the perfection of morals solely from the cultivation of the intellect, and which induces us to neglect in education, as useless, all effort and every exercise which makes their formation its immediate object.

But it does not follow that, because there is nothing established in schools to effect this object, it cannot therefore be attained; that because the art of forming morals can scarcely be said to exist at all, it is therefore impossible to form them. Virtue may be taught and learnt as well as anything else. What says Plutarch? "Men can fit themselves for everything, and yet we cannot teach them the art of living well in the world! Men learn to sing, to dance, to read, to write, to dress, to cultivate the earth, to subdue the fiery horse; and yet that for which all other things are learned—a well-regulated and orderly life, and practical wisdom—depends entirely upon chance, and is the only thing that can be neither taught nor learned!"*

Montaigne observes, after Xenophon, that the Persians taught their children virtue as other nations taught their children letters. Rousseau is of opinion

* "Virtue may be taught and learned."—*Moral Works*, chap. vi.

that there is no virtue to which we cannot serve an apprenticeship; and adds, further, that constancy, firmness, and the other virtues, are the apprenticeship of childhood. This novitiate is certainly not easy, but it is possible. Every one has not the same disposition for it; we are more or less qualified for virtue as we are for science, we are more or less fitted for a particular virtue as we are for the study of a particular science; but there is no virtue to which we cannot in some degree form our will, as there are no ideas with which we cannot in some measure familiarize our understanding.

We can not only learn virtue, but we know what are generally the means of being successful in the study. It is by practice. "Vouldrais-je," asks Montaigne, "que le Palluel oú Pompée, ces beaux danseurs de mon temps, nous aprinssent les caprioles à les voir faire seulement, et sans bouger de nos places?"* Well, then, if we cannot learn to cut capers merely by seeing them performed by others, much less can we learn virtue from only seeing it practised. Locke observes, "It seems plain to me that the principle of all virtue and excellency lies in a power of denying ourselves the satisfaction of our own desires where reason does not authorize them. This power is to be got and improved by custom, made easy and familiar by an early practice†." "Children," adds the same writer, "are not to be taught by rules, which will be always slipping out of their memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable practice, as often as the occasion returns; and if it be possible, make occasions. This will beget habits in them which,

* Essais, tome i. ch. 25, de l'Institution des Enfants.

† On Education, § 39.

being once established, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the memory.'*

It is true that those philosophers who are most decidedly of opinion that the will can only be formed by exercising it, and calling it into action the same way as the understanding, are very much puzzled to say what those exercises are which are best calculated to discipline this faculty: how, for instance, to teach courage, patience, sobriety, justice, &c.; and yet, notwithstanding all this, there is no doubt but that there are methods for regulating the will, and there are means of forming our manners. There are persons who are particularly qualified to form the character, as there are others who are especially fitted to educate the mind. There might be establishments for the former of these branches of education, under the superintendence or direction of professors who might take the title of *educators*, in the same way that seminaries now exist for the second branch, which are in the hands of *instructors;* or at least the schools established for the education of our intellectual faculties might be so arranged as to include the cultivation of our moral faculties, which object is almost effected in the admirable institution of Zellweger, in the canton of Appenzell in Switzerland, assisted by M. Krusi, one of the teachers of this institution, and an old friend of Pestalozzi's. What should prevent a course of virtue or morality (which are synonymous) from being gone through in a well-organized school, as well as a course of science, or a course of gymnastics.

We see in the Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin, that at the period of his life at which he formed, as he expresses himself, "*the bold and difficult plan of arriving*

* On Education. § 66.

*at moral perfection**," he was able to unite to his labours and studies a practical course of study in the principal virtues in which he felt it necessary to improve himself. Nothing could be more ingenious and simple than the method he adopted. He drew on an ivory tablet, which he always carried with him, a certain number of lines transversely, in the margin of which were written the names of the different virtues which he wished particularly to acquire. These lines were intersected by seven perpendicular lines, with the days of the week written at the top. On this tablet he prosecuted his task. He rigorously devoted his attention for an entire week to each one of the virtues inscribed in the margin of his tablet, leaving all the others to take their chance, and he carefully noted the faults of the day every evening. The following week he turned his attention to the virtue which he had placed in the second transverse line, the next week to the third virtue, and so on to the end of the list. He thus went through a complete course in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year. As he persevered in these useful exercises, he had the satisfaction to see the marks which noticed his faults become less numerous, while he made actual progress in morality. What is to prevent a similar plan from being adopted in schools of both sexes? Why should not a table of the good habits we wish to be inculcated be drawn up for each class according to the age of the pupils? Why not let each of the virtues in its turn become, for a specific time, the common study of all the children in the same class? Why not excite their emulation to practise it by persuasion, and gentle, affectionate, and sensible exhortation? Why not notice the efforts osten-

* See his Life and posthumous Works.

sibly made by each pupil to attain to it, and accustom them to examine their youthful consciences every evening themselves, and to recall to mind the faults they have committed during the day? The efficacy of these plans might be increased by a judicious use of all those stimulants which are suited to make the will act in the direction we wish it to take,—by mildness, by *good example*, by appeals to the good feeling of the pupils, by exercising a careful influence over their reason, by explaining to them with simplicity and truth the consequences resulting from good or bad habits, by teaching them how habits are acquired or lost, how much easier a first action or a first self-denial renders a second, how we may accustom ourselves by degrees to perform actions or suffer privations which at first sight appeared to be painful, &c. It is easy to perceive that so difficult an art as that of a practical moralist is not to be learnt in a moment; and though it is hard to say *all* that ought to be done, it is quite clear that *something* can be done. It would be easy, for instance, to inculcate such a love of truth as would influence a child's conduct through life, and form the basis of a good and decisive character. The misfortune at present is, that most children are brought up without any character at all, and of course are subject to be influenced by such motives as circumstances present to them.

If, then, little time and attention are bestowed, in most schools, on the formation of moral habits, we must allow that it is not for want of means, but because the means are not used. There is no doubt but that schools might as well be appropriated to the education of the will, as to that of the understanding; we might be taught the art of leading a virtuous life, as

well as the art of reasoning correctly; we might learn order, justice, sincerity, foresight, and the government of the passions, in schools, as well as arithmetic, grammar, and rhetoric; and we might make as much progress in the practice as in the theory of morality.

If we are assured that virtue may be reduced to a science, it is not the less certain that this science is of a nature to exercise the most extensive and salutary influence upon society.

We all know what an indispensable element in social life good habits are. We cannot be ignorant that, of all the elements which enter into industry, private and civil virtues are the most indispensable; for labour without good habits hardly ever produces any result which is beneficial to the moral state of society. We need not say how important to all other arts are those which strive directly to produce virtue; how much real value they impart to man, and what power and facility in action they procure for him in everything which he has to do. This is a fact that needs no development or proof.

But those arts which tend to the formation of our moral habits are not only important because they render all others easier, and supply them with the most essential ingredients of their freedom of action, but they have a more immediate utility. Like all other sciences which exercise an influence upon man, they have the advantage of immediately cultivating his intellect, and are perhaps those of all others which contribute the most to its improvement.

There are some sciences which are devoted to the amelioration of man's physical condition; others labour for the excitement of his imagination and his affections,

and others apply themselves to the development of his intellectual faculties; but if it is important for him to be healthy and handsome, full of active perception, and intelligent, of how much greater importance must it be to him to become virtuous? And those arts which teach him to submit his imagination and feelings to the dictates of his understanding are indisputably, among all which aim at his improvement, those which contribute most to his dignity and happiness.

Virtue, that inward power, which, without stifling our natural affections, gives us the ability of restraining them within the limits prescribed by an enlightened judgment, virtue is the most noble and precious of all our faculties. Without it there is nothing but disorder or weakness in our actions. Virtue alone has the power to prevent our reason from being a barren gift, and our passions a hurtful one. It deprives our passions of their poison, and reason of its impotence: it makes feeling serve to animate and excite our reason, and reason to elevate and direct our feelings. Virtue thus corrects the two orders of faculties, the one acting upon the other, and it equally perfects them both.

Those passions against which so much has been said may all contribute to the perfection of our being,—even those which are taken in a bad sense, and generally denominated evil. *Hatred* becomes a good feeling when it is only directed against vice; it is commendable in a king to show himself *sparing* of the blood and treasure of his subjects; *pride* may preserve us from baseness; *self-love* may be in a certain sense justifiable, and so on. But on the other hand all passions may debase and render us miserable; even those which are the most estimable may produce injurious effects. What

shameful disorders have been caused by bigotry, and the wrong direction of religious feeling! How much vice and misery mistaken charity develops! What crimes and madness even love has occasioned, the most tender and benevolent of all the passions! All our affections, therefore, are alternately good or bad, salutary or hurtful, according to the direction we give them. It is the effect of virtue, and of those arts which bring it forth, to deprive them of what is evil by keeping them within proper limits. It is the peculiar property of those arts so to modify our inclinations as to induce us always to act in that way which is most conformable to our real good, and consequently to our happiness.

If they act usefully upon our passions, they do not exercise a less salutary influence on our reason. We have before observed, that it is possible to be well versed in the theory of morals, without being necessarily a moral man.

"Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt."

"Since learned men have abounded, good men are scarce," said an ancient moralist. Science, however, is not an obstacle to virtue; and Seneca is decidedly wrong in representing knowledge as the enemy of virtue, since our best feelings need to be enlightened to prevent us from acting wrong. But although science is not opposed to virtue, we must allow that it is not sufficient to produce it. We know how common it is to see men of learning who are deficient in morals; men who are chaste in their conversation, and very irregular in their habits; men who are very liberal in theory, and extremely unjust and despotic in practice; men very lavish in all that concerns themselves, but cold and selfish in relation to the well-being of others.

This contrast of an enlightened understanding and uncultivated morals will always be the more striking among a people who have paid the greatest attention to the former, and have neglected the improvement of their habits in the same proportion as they have bestowed their time and care on the perfection of their reason.

This is precisely what we have done in the present day. It appears that the formation of morals was never less attended to than since we have been so zealously occupied in the diffusion of knowledge. It is this imperfection in our habits, compared with our extended information, which doubtless makes so many persons think that the progress of knowledge is injurious to well-regulated habits; a very unreasonable idea, it is true, but one which can only be removed by new methods of instruction founded on the science of moral education. It is the province of this art to remove that contradiction which is thought to exist between morals and knowledge, and, by taking as much pains to bend the will to the direction of the understanding, as other arts and other modes of instruction devote to the development of the understanding itself, to remove the anomaly of an enlightened mind which has no power over its own conduct; to teach reason what it has the capacity to learn, by making it acquire that power of will which gives the finishing stroke to its cultivation, and without which all it has learned only serves to make it feel its own weakness, and its natural and humiliating dependence on the passions.

The art which labours to make our desires agree with our knowledge, not only removes us from a very humiliating state, but also delivers us from a very painful one. What can be more painful than the war which

our reason and passions carry on within us—than the state in which our *moi* (self), as Buffon remarks, appears to be shared by two persons; one of whom, namely, the reasoning faculty, blames what is done by the second, without being strong enough to counteract it; and the second, that is, the faculty of passion, does what the former condemns, without being able to escape from the judgment which its other half forms of this conduct, and which opinion embitters all its pleasures? What can be more miserable than a learned man who cannot govern himself—than a man whose judgment combats against a bad action, but is yet drawn on by his inclinations to do what his mind condemns? It would be better to be without either feeling or reason altogether, than to be thus tossed about by opposing faculties. But what is far better than being without passion or reason, is to possess at the same time the sensitive and reasoning faculties, when a good moral education has afforded us the requisite strength to submit the former to the guidance of the latter.

The art which gives us this power, the art which develops this class of faculties in us which we call virtues and moral habits, is undoubtedly that which procures for us the most perfect pleasures. All others want something: the pleasures of sense are gross and evanescent; those of passion are filled with trouble and anguish; those of the understanding are mingled with insipidity; the pleasures of virtue alone are perfect. These pleasures, without excluding others, exclude that which corrupts them; they are composed, above all, of that security, tranquillity, and elevated satisfaction produced by self-command, and the habit of only yielding

to our affections that which an enlightened understanding approves.

Thus the art of the practical moralist, or *preceptor*, has not only the effect of creating an order of means indispensable to the freedom of all the rest, but gives us the most important of all instruction. Whilst the other kinds bring our physical organs to perfection, cultivate our imagination and affections, and enlighten our understanding, this teaches us to submit the faculties which move us to those which ought to direct us, and to make a judicious and moderate use of both. In this manner it preserves them all, and renders the various pleasures which they procure for us more lively and permanent; and this constitutes happiness, the thing which all desire and few attain.

EARLY EDUCATION.

By Mrs BARWELL.

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Early education comprises the elements of the future happiness or misery, virtue or vice, greatness or goodness, of the individual; a truth perhaps hardly sufficiently considered, otherwise education would be less frequently entrusted to the weak, the ignorant, or the injudicious. The stability of a building depends upon the firmness of its foundation; the virtue of man upon the excellence of his early education. It is true, that the grandeur, beauty, or utility of the finished structure may alone be observable; but the judgment and skill of the architect must have been equally exercised in the foundation upon which the edifice is raised. Whether we believe children to be born with evil dispositions, or whether we consider all their ideas and dispositions to be acquired notions,—education must equally correct the one, or form the other.

The phrase "elementary education" would seem, in its ordinary acceptation, merely to apply to instruction in reading and spelling; but the child who is unmanageable in the nursery will be unmanageable in the school-room, and activity of intellect will be fostered or deadened, according to the nature of the early discipline, before the child has learned to speak. It is impossible to separate moral from intellectual education; intellectual cannot be efficiently conducted independent of moral education, and we maintain the converse to be equally true. That development of the faculties, which

is necessary to the acquisition and application of knowledge, is equally essential to the acquisition of morality —reason and observation are as important in the one as in the other: thus the two branches, although apparently distinct, grow from the same stem. He who cannot reason, and whose perceptions are dull and torpid, will be no more moral than he who only possesses a well-stored memory will be a really wise man. It follows, then, that the faculties which enable us to act from virtuous motives, and the faculties which are employed in the acquisition of knowledge, are originally the same; and a well-regulated education will begin by practically cultivating those faculties, since from them are to spring all moral as well as all intellectual results.

Early education is almost universally in the hands of females, according to a wise provision of nature; their habits and characters being peculiarly adapted to the purpose. Women are naturally devoted to the minor operations of life; they can dwell with interest and patience upon the trifles that make up the lives of children, and it is upon the direction of these seeming trifles that future greatness (and this term also includes goodness) will depend. The present artificial system of female education very much unfits women for the task which nature has so clearly assigned to them; gentleness, placid firmness, evenness of temper, watchfulness, tenderness, and that quiet discretion, which is usually called good sense, are the characteristics of an unspoiled woman; and surely these are the qualifications which are best adapted to check the peevish and violent, to encourage the idle or timid, and, above all, to give an example of what is virtuous and rational to those little

beings whose future happiness depends so much on a mother's care and discretion.

The first six years in the lives of children demand as much or more watchfulness on the part of their guardians than any other period of their youth; yet it is generally believed, that if they be carefully fed, clothed, washed, and taught to read, or rather made to stammer over a book, the duties towards them are perfectly fulfilled; if they should have become wilful and unmanageable, (and this is a general case,) they are sent to school to be corrected, because little master or miss cannot longer be controlled at home. At school, as elsewhere, the influence of a bad example is as powerful as that of a good one, and unless unremitting vigilance be exercised, the innocent minded will be corrupted by their associates. Fear of personal chastisement, or severe punishment, produces habits of deceit, and those are the happiest and the most honoured who are most successful in deceiving their instructors. What will be their struggles, when, at a riper age, they perceive and would correct their errors! How much more severe are the pangs they will then suffer, than the rational privations and restraints of childhood would have inflicted! And how many are there who never arrive at a sense of their moral degradation! Let it also be remembered, that the evil goes on increasing; for persons so educated, and so dead to moral virtue, will assuredly "visit the sins of the fathers upon the children."

Parents, and mothers most especially, must learn that their parental duties have not ceased when the personal comforts of their children are provided for; that it is on *their* example, *their* attention, *their* firmness, that much of the moral worth of their offspring depends.

Whatever be their situation in society, all, or nearly all, have the means of inculcating and enforcing the early and habitual practice of virtue. The nursery, the school-room, and the world, are alike the scenes of evil passions, restrained or encouraged, corrected or triumphant; but in the first there is a presiding power, which will retain or lose its influence in the subsequent scenes of life, according as it is well or ill employed in the first and opening stage: a power which will be silently, but deeply acknowledged, reverenced, and remembered, in after years, when its worth can be appreciated, and its effects manifested—this power is possessed by every sensible, judicious, and wisely affectionate mother; and let her deem it as one of her highest privileges, that to her is confided the happiness of implanting those seeds of virtue and morality, upon the culture and growth of which will depend the future welfare of her children.

It is impossible to lay down systems of education, which shall embrace all particulars; a *general* system may be recommended, subject to the modifications which the various characters of children demand. But as no precise and universal rules can be given, it is the more important that early education should be confided to judicious persons, whose conduct is regulated by the motives which they wish to inculcate, and whose judgment is clear, firm, and mature.

The first manifestations of the dawnings of reason are shown before the power of speech is attained; children signify by imperfect sounds what they desire to obtain, and become violent when their wishes are not complied with. It is the mother's part to watch the moment when she can make the little tyrant comprehend that

desires so expressed will not be gratified, and to show that a contrary mode of conduct will be successful, when the object desired is not considered improper. From this point she must proceed, step by step, until she makes her pupil know by repeated experience, that he is not to obey his first impulse, and that self-control, a thing which even an infant can comprehend, is necessary to his own comfort. Example has been pronounced the best instructor in the arts; and so it is in education. Those who undertake that great and interesting duty must first learn to know themselves, and to command themselves. An angry look, a violent action, an over-harsh word, will undo hours of advice upon the necessity of a well-regulated temper. Unreasonableness, irregularity, *insincerity*, and indolence of mind or body, will overturn precepts however well worded and judiciously expressed.

Theory is only comprehensible to a child when illustrated by practice. "I shall do or say so, because mamma or papa does or says so," is an unanswerable argument, and an excuse for or a defence of what is wrong. "*Do as I say, and not as I do,*" is unintelligible to a child. Parents or preceptors are at first supposed by their children or pupils to be perfect in conduct; their very authority and power invest them with a dignity, which, in the innocent minds of children, presupposes virtue. When, therefore, they perceive in parents or instructors any deviation from the rules laid down for their own government, the opinion as to their virtue sinks as much too low, as before it was too elevated.

The operations of a child's mind are sources of deep interest, and it is with and upon these that the instructor

has to work. Repetition of acts, association, and affection, are the foundation of habits and opinions, as soon as the perceptive powers are called into exertion. An infant that has been regularly accustomed to eat and sleep at particular hours will, in a very short time, become hungry and sleepy at those hours. It is happy when in the arms of those to whom it is accustomed, uneasy when with strangers; its agreeable feelings are associated with those with whom it is at ease—this then is the result of habit.

The association of pleasure with what is right, of pain with what is wrong, is in fact the true foundation of reward and punishment; reward and punishment should grow, if possible, out of the acts which have deserved either; the commission or omission, whether of good or evil, should lead to its own penalty or reward. Severe measures can never be necessary, except where there is crime; but this presupposes total early neglect. To reward is less difficult than to punish; the former may be founded on affection and conscience, for the consciousness of rectitude, where a love of right is instilled, is as strong in childhood as in manhood; and where self-control is a ruling power, self-approbation and the praise of the loving and the loved will be all-sufficient.

The time at which reason begins to show itself in children varies considerably: some children are capable of slight control at the age of fourteen months, and even earlier; others not till eighteen or twenty months. Crying is the means by which, in earliest infancy, pain, uneasiness, or hunger, and progressively, the wish for an object, and anger at being deprived of the source of amusement, are expressed; but when the child has learned to make other sounds, when it has acquired the

many little actions which need not be described to the tender mother, but which are ever a source of deep interest, (inasmuch as they are the signs which tell of the gradual development of the imitative powers, and consequently indicate the existence of intellect,) it would be easy to accustom the child to make known its wishes by the use of these sounds or actions. When this power is acquired, the infant should never be allowed to obtain its object by crying. We are not going to maintain that, in a well-regulated nursery, a young child will never be heard to cry—it has no other means of expressing pain or uneasiness ; but a child who, after the age of fourteen or sixteen months, is never gratified in its desires when so signified, will soon cease to express them in this way. The great difficulty is to convince the child's understanding, when the wished for object is an improper toy. We would recommend the substitution of some other plaything, and, in the early stages of discipline, the removal of the source of temptation entirely out of sight: if the child refuses the substitute, (which rarely happens at a tender age, because the impressions on the mind are then slight and easily removed,) the mother or nurse will manifest by voice or countenance that she is grieved or displeased ; will remove the child into another room ; will seek by every means short of violence, or weak persuasion, to remove the improper ideas which have taken possession of the mind. Very young children have no words, neither can they altogether comprehend them, and until they have acquired the power of understanding speech, they must be taught by actions.

When the child has learned to ask by the means we have pointed out, all deviation from these means must be resisted, and all exhibitions of temper be corrected.

This is best done by submitting the pupil to *personal inconvenience ;* but, let it be observed, we do not by this intend personal violence or chastisement. We have seen a passionate screaming child checked in its violence by holding its hand firmly in one position ; and on another occasion, the same child, at the age of nineteen months, was cured of a habit of shrieking by shutting it up for a half an hour in a small but not a dark closet.

But there may be tempers which require to be treated in a different way from that which we have suggested, and the choice of means must consequently be left to the judicious parent.* One invariable rule may be laid down, that the parent, in endeavouring to check the propensities of the child, can never succeed without uniformity of conduct, and kindness of manner joined to

* For the following note the writer of this article is indebted to a member of the Committee, who has had much experience in education.—It frequently happens that manifestations of ill-temper, and even violence on the part of a child, are attributable wholly to physical causes. The writer of this note suffered, when a child, from roughness and want of moisture in the skin, to such a degree in winter, that the mere contact of any rough substance, as woollen cloth, was unendurable, and the necessity for handling the most ordinary objects sometimes occasioned great irritation of temper, which was attributed by his friends to moral defect. He has observed like effects to arise from a variety of causes, as *want of ventilation*, want of ample room for exercise, tightness of clothing, *the direct light of a window falling upon the eyes,* (which causes irritation perhaps more frequently than is supposed,) the use of food unsuited to the digestive organs of children, &c.

Physical remedies may often be applied with advantage, when ill temper may have arisen from moral causes. A run in the open air, the effort of carrying a chair from one room to another, a draught of cold water, &c., may stop a fit of crying or screaming when other means would fail: the writer can say from experience that children may be readily taught to acquiesce in such means, and even, with a little encouragement at the time, to employ such means themselves, for recovering their lost serenity of temper.

firmness of purpose. It is of the highest importance that while we are gaining an ascendancy over the minds of our children, we do not lose our hold upon their affections.

It has been urged that children should never be rewarded or punished by means of their appetite. We object to the adoption of such means as a principle; but may they not be effective when judiciously and sparingly employed? For instance, if the desired possession of fruits, cakes, or sweetmeats, supposing them not to be injurious to the health, be violently expressed, or cause an infringement of discipline, would it not be right to refuse them, and afterwards to give them occasionally when the conduct has been proper and satisfactory? The privation would then be associated with misconduct, the enjoyment with the reverse.

It should be the care of every parent or guardian not to expose her child to temptation at an early age. Nevertheless a child must be accustomed to the various ornaments of a room, such as the books, which must always be seen there; but let it be a rule never at any time to give a child that which it is at all improper it should afterwards desire. To exemplify our meaning fully: an infant is on its mother's lap—the attention of the mother being diverted from its immediate amusement, she gives it her thimble to save herself from interruption—she does not, at the moment, consider what she has long known, and afterwards perceives, when her thoughts are wholly devoted to the child, that the thimble is a dangerous toy, because it is easily swallowed; the next time the child sees the thimble, it expresses its wish to have it, for it has already known the pleasure of possession, and if its desire be signified with gentleness,

how much more difficult is it to refuse? and how much previous labour and patience on the part of the parent, and some suffering on the part of the child, are thrown away, and how much more future trouble is to be endured in consequence of this single oversight.

It would seem superfluous to insist on the necessity of firmness, yet it is the quality which is mostly wanting in the government of the nursery. Few people are aware at how early an age discipline may be enforced, and of what paramount importance it is. A child should be taught by experience the utter hopelessness of contending for its own way; as soon as it has made this discovery, it ceases to contend. But let not this firmness ever approach to violence, or the slightest display of impatience. The tenderness which but too often manifests itself as a weakness may be converted into a powerful auxiliary. All the happiness of a child springs, or ought to spring, from its parents and its nurse. If then she to whom it looks for its comforts, its necessities, and its pleasures, firmly but gently resist violence, clothes her refusals in kind and affectionate accents, and manifests grief more than anger in administering correction—will not such methods be more likely to produce moral results, than senseless indulgence, capricious refusals, followed by permissions just as capricious, and angry punishments administered without reflection, without reason, and without temper? And do we not find that the weak indulgence which knows not how to refuse, is generally accompanied by the contrary extreme of violent and injudicious correction?

No mother, however exemplary in the fulfilment of her duties, can take upon herself the entire charge of her children. How necessary is it then to have a nurse who

is sufficiently informed, honest, good-tempered, and conscientious, to comprehend and act upon the plan pursued and inculcated by her mistress. This is a difficulty which most mothers have to contend with, and it is one which will not be overcome until a plan of general education be adopted for all classes, which has reference to their future station in life, and which can only be accomplished by the union of all parties for national instruction on an enlarged and practical basis. Females of the lower classes must be practically taught the duties which they will be called upon to perform; and the *means* employed must be adapted to the *end*, before our domestics can be worthy of trust. The vicious and the ignorant are daily and hourly placed in most responsible situations; and though much of the happiness and misery of parents is thus placed in the keeping of their servants, there is a very general indifference, not to the having good servants, a thing which all desire, but to the adoption of a general means of providing a supply of good domestics. The influence of servants upon children has been considered so injurious, that, in more than one plan of education, it has been recommended to prevent all communication between them. Such plans are not practicable. It is impossible for parents, whatever be their station, to be the sole companions of their children; and it is even less possible in the early than in the later periods of childhood. The middle classes are brought nearer to their children than the rich, both by circumstances and inclination; but they also must necessarily intrust them more or less to servants. The very rich, whose pursuits are often frivolous pleasure, may leave their children altogether to servants, and yet all their riches cannot purchase the services of honest

and judicious servants: money alone will not induce well-educated women of sense to become nursery-maids, in the present state of society in this country.* Until a system of universal education is adopted, there is but one course to pursue—to use the same judgment in the choice of the persons to whom you commit your children as you employ in the management of those children themselves—to treat your domestic, when chosen with due care, as one on whom you rely; to raise her own self-respect, to endeavour to make her comprehend your objects, and to give her a just sense of their value; to set her an example in your own person of the conduct which you desire to be adopted towards her charge. To superintend every arrangement relating to the comfort and necessities of your children, to manifest your deep interest in their welfare, to encourage candour and openness on the part of your servants, and to show by your manner that you are grateful for their care of your children—such a system, where the materials on which you have to work are not really bad, will rarely fail; and those who adopt such a course will be amply repaid in the possession of a trusty and able servant.

When the child has attained the power to speak and to comprehend language, the parent's task is become both lighter and heavier: lighter, because the facilities of reasoning and explanation are afforded; heavier, because the temptations of the child are increased.

* A friend has remarked to us, that a good nursery governess can be obtained almost on the same terms as a head nursery-maid, and that he has himself found very great advantage in placing a sensible, well-educated young woman in this situation. The advantage of such a superintendent for young children we of course fully admit; but we think that at present it is not possible always, or even generally, to obtain the services of young women who are well qualified.

And as to the use of language, the child must be addressed in its own words. The mother must herself return to the simplicity of childhood. She must not altogether put away childish things. Her sympathy in grief and in pleasure, in hope and in joy, in amusement and in learning, is quite as necessary, and perhaps more influential than her authority; and even this must be expressed without the inaccuracies of infantine language, but with all its simplicity. We cannot relish what we do not understand; it would be hard if we were expected to act upon advice or instruction given in an incomprehensible tongue: many an unfortunate child is addressed in terms which are to it wholly unintelligible. It seldom happens that the reason of children cannot be addressed; the difficulty lies not in them, but in ourselves; not in the thing, but in the mode of expressing it. We forget the many links in the long chain which connects our early perceptions with our subsequent acquirements; but in order effectually to employ our experience in the education of others, we must retrace our steps, and become young again in word, not in deed—in feeling, not in action.

Another important duty is to provide such means of amusement, that no temptation to what is called mischief may ensue. All healthy children will be occupied, and if occupation is not found for them, they will find it for themselves. The love of *construction* and *destruction* abounds in most children. Their toys then should be of a kind to facilitate the one and prevent the other. Such things as a box of bricks, or of houses, even a slate and pencil, are inexhaustible sources of amusement to those who have no garden: or for the winter season, books of prints, of birds, or animals in general,

may be employed with great advantage, because they excite questions, afford the parent opportunities of giving much valuable oral instruction, and induce that love of inquiry which is the parent of knowledge. Those who possess a garden have fewer difficulties to encounter in providing amusement for their children. The spade, the wheelbarrow, or waggon, the hoop, kite, and ball, are too excellent and too well known to need recommendation here; neither need we name the doll for girls, which affords constant and varied amusement and occupation, and may be made the means of inculcating much that will be subsequently useful and admirable in a female.

These toys may also be made useful in teaching order, carefulness, and steadfastness. The seeds of perseverance may be sown, by insisting on a child's remaining satisfied with one plaything for a reasonable space of time; and a power of abstraction may be conferred by accustoming it to fix its attention on the object before it, even when surrounded by other attractions. Such a habit would also prevent envy or discontent. A child who is early accustomed to be satisfied with its own allotment will scarcely be discontented at a later period. A love of order may be encouraged by the habit of putting the various toys in their respective places after use; and such a habit eventually leads to systematic carefulness and economy.

We now come to a most important part of education: the teaching of the practice of virtue—the instilling a permanent love of goodness, a hatred of evil.

Children who look upon their parents as the sources of their happiness (and all parents have the power of inculcating this feeling) will reverence their words and

actions, and seek to follow their example (we presuppose the early training we have recommended to have been pursued for three or four years); they will also be delighted to please their parents, and grieved to vex them. Here then affection becomes one great stimulus, and a powerful instrument.

The practice of self-control, of truth, obedience, and gentleness, should be rewarded not by gifts, but by affectionate praise and encouragement; and all contrary conduct should be reproved by disapprobation and the expression of sorrow. Rewards and punishments must occasionally be resorted to at all ages; but they should be used sparingly, and, as we have before remarked, be made to grow out of the circumstances which call them forth. The pleasure afforded by self-approbation, and the approval of those whom we love and esteem, ought to be the *greatest* pleasure that a child can receive. When this is attained, the main difficulty is overcome.

We must, however, insist on the power of habit. The reasoning faculties are stronger in some children than in others, but the force of habit is great in all. Before reason assumes much influence (and it exists earlier than is generally believed) habits may be acquired; subsequently, appeals may be made to reason and affection.

If a child has been accustomed to find discomfort an unfailing consequence of misconduct, it will avoid misconduct as anxiously as it would avoid the fire after having been once burned. When it begins to reason, it will perceive the effect of misconduct in others; and here the parent has the means of strengthening a dislike of evil by illustrative tales, either read or repeated,

showing the advantages of virtue, and the disadvantages of vice. A judicious selection will have the double effect of leading the child to a love of information. But again, we must urge upon the instructor, that nothing which is beyond its comprehension, or is incapable of explanation, should be presented. Every thing vague ought to be avoided. We should teach a child (whether it be by precept or by fictitious example) to do, or not to do, *particular* things—such as not to practise falsehood or deceit, but to be sincere and open on all occasions: *general* admonitions as to virtue and vice, doing right and doing wrong, &c., have little effect.

In the employment of the influence of affection, great prudence must be exercised, lest the feeling be deadened by too much use; or, on the other hand, lest the child be habituated to submit the judging power, which in after life is the main motive of action, to the less certain guidance of sympathy and affection uncontrolled by reason: both evils, though of an opposite character, may we think arise from the injudicious use of the principle of affection. We might also caution mothers against the constant reiteration of such phrases as the following: Don't do this; be quiet; let that alone; you are very naughty. The child soon comes to regard them as mere idle words, and often ceases even to hear them.

As implicit obedience is one of the first objects to be obtained, so no command should be given, the fulfilment of which cannot be, and is not, insisted upon. The moment that evasion is found possible, it will be practised. There is no need of violence, no necessity for force, either in language or action; nothing but quiet, firm determination, until the command be obeyed; ap-

probation or displeasure may follow in proportion to the resistance that has been offered. We repeat, that every child must be taught the utter hopelessness of having its own way, before strict discipline can be maintained. Still we should be careful not to let our commands be of that description which may encourage obstinacy and resistance. For example, if a child has not obeyed a certain command, it may often be better to inflict a positive punishment—such as confinement, or the deprivation of some little pleasure—than to make the punishment continue *till* the child has obeyed the command. If we make the child's punishment continue till he has done what he is ordered to do, there is danger, with some children, of a stubborn resistance. If we punish for disobedience to the command, the lesson will not be without its value; and if the punishment be repeated as often as the offence is committed, there is not much reason for doubting that the parent will finally be successful.

As there are various tempers to be contended with, so must the system vary with regard to each. Passion, obstinacy, fretfulness, sullenness, and timidity, are the chief varieties. With the first we should recommend summary punishment, and that of a somewhat harsh character: for instance, solitary confinement, or bodily restraint—such as limitation to so small a space that movement is difficult or uneasy; and the entire privation of the object which has caused the excitation for hours or days, according to the age of a child.

Obstinacy is often fostered, rather than checked, by opposition. Wherever it is possible, the parent must endeavour not to perceive the assumed ignorance or incapacity, which are the usual forms which obstinacy

takes in children. If they refuse to repeat a thing, say it over and over again yourself calmly, as if you were only anxious to remove their ignorance; if they refuse to do a thing, if it be practicable to move their limbs gently into the necessary action, do so, and let the matter end, never alluding to it at any subsequent period. If both these methods be unavailing, or not practicable, tie the hand behind the back, or attach it by a string to a hook in the wall, so as not to inflict pain, but merely so as to occasion inconvenience until the obstinate fit is over. But the child must never know that it is stubborn; nor must it ever perceive that it has the power to disturb the serenity of its guardian.

Fretfulness generally proceeds from physical causes, and eventually becomes habitual. The evil is more easy to prevent than to remedy: a little extra attention to the amusements of the child so afflicted (for a great affliction it is) will do much. An increase of tenderness (we do not by this mean false indulgence), accompanied by a firm determination not to grant the object which is longed for, are perhaps the best checks.

Sullenness can only be repressed by the privation of all society, all sympathy, and all amusement. The delinquent must be practically taught, that, when under the influence of such feelings, he is unfit for communication with his fellows, and unworthy of their regard. Timidity is perhaps more a defect of character than of temper; and, what seems an anomaly, is generally accompanied by vanity. Shy men are usually conceited: it proceeds from a false view of one's self, and of others—of both persons and things. Encouragement must here be blended with particular attention to the reasoning faculties.

The influence of body over mind is too apparent to need comment, and yet how seldom is this fact considered and acted upon. Locke has wisely insisted upon the necessity of the formation of healthy habits, in order to ensure the success of education. Regularity is most essential, as far as regards the hours allotted to sleep and nourishment. The want of sufficient sleep during the day, especially in very young children, induces, besides many bodily defects, a restlessness and fretfulness which are unquestionably moral evils. Hunger or satiety will produce the same results. Undue exposure to cold destroys the energies of a child, and exposure to heat weakens them: a proper temperature is of great importance. We insist upon these points here, because it is undeniable that they involve both the moral and intellectual education of the child. Exercises which call forth the free action of the limbs, also induce free action of the mental faculties. The animated laugh, the merry phrase, the childish imitation, are best heard and seen in the midst of active and healthful sport. Some persons restrict children in these matters, because they fear they may induce boisterous and vulgar habits of speech and manner. But this again depends upon the parent's superintendence. Mirth does not mean noise: exercise does not infer coarse actions. Nature shows incessant motion to be the means by which infants attain all their bodily and even their perceptive powers, and while youth lasts it cannot be unduly restrained without injury. Fresh air and exercise, judicious diet, and regular hours, are the best prescription which a mother can act upon to secure the bodily and mental health of her offspring.

When once a love of virtuous conduct has been instilled, and made habitual, the intellectual education

may begin; but it is not to be commenced with books, nor by the alphabet. Before knowledge can be beneficially acquired, its value must be felt, and a desire of attainment must be inspired and manifested. This is not a difficult task, but it can only be fulfilled by those who have studied the capabilities and the powers of the intellect which is to be cultivated.

The forms of expression employed by children are those which they best comprehend, and in these, as we have before observed, they must be addressed. Great truths may be illustrated by small words. A fact is not the less valuable or interesting because it is clothed in simple language; on the contrary, it can only be really valued when it is understood. Before children have attained their fourth year, some peculiar mental organization is developed, requiring direction, restraint, or encouragement. Upon a false or correct estimate of this organization will depend the moral and intellectual welfare of the individual. In some characters, imagination is predominant; in others, quick perception; and in a few, for this perhaps is the rarest, the reasoning powers are most active.

Great imagination frequently exists with no power of language; and children are distinguished by this mingled excellence and defect equally with adults. Because they cannot express their thoughts intelligibly, they are judged to have no ideas at all, or condemned as stupid. A patient investigation will discover the injustice of the sentence; and in such cases the child's deficiencies should be remedied, care taken to increase his stock of words, and to habituate him to a clear and correct expression of his ideas. The same excess of imagination gives rise to that dreaming state which assumes the ap-

pearance of laziness, (and the effects are equally injurious;) the imagination is indeed busy, but it is active to no end; the other faculties are lying dormant, and their want of exercise will finally become incapacity. These imaginative minds often affix their own definitions to words, inducing such erroneous conceptions, and such distortions of facts, that a child has not unfrequently been deemed idiotic; whereas, upon a minute examination of the various trains of thought, the misconceptions have evidently arisen from a vivid imagination acting upon misinterpreted expressions occasioned by the similarity of sounds, or by some association. For instance, a conversation has passed in the presence of a child, in which anecdotes or events are related, parts of which only are intelligible to him; to these parts he affixes his own meaning; this affords ample food for an active imagination, and when at some future time a term or name previously heard is used, the child associates with it the former facts, the original train of ideas return, and he appears to be talking of something totally irrelevant, when, in fact, the connexion is intimate, and the deduction fair, according to the premises he had made for himself. Such minds delight in improbabilities and tales of wonder: the marvellous to them is more attractive than truth; and if they be not checked, the judgment is sacrificed, and the reasoning powers almost destroyed. Nothing tends to the fostering of this quality of the mind more than ordinary prints. An excess of imagination is either the cause or effect (most probably the former) of mental indolence; and where it prevails, the child will prefer gazing on a print, to informing itself of the reality of the subject, which the print illustrates. In an inquiring mind, an engraving will create a desire to know more; and when the facts

are acquired, the defects or improbabilities of the illustration will be detected. An imaginative mind takes all upon trust: it does not wish to *inquire*, it *believes*. Good engravings, by which term we mean correct representations, judiciously employed, are of great assistance in education; but children's books often contain illustrations which absolutely contradict the impression that the words convey, and create incorrect ideas and associations which it is impossible wholly to eradicate.

In contradistinction to this superabundance of imagination, there are minds which cannot be urged beyond mere matter of fact. With them, words are limited not so much to one meaning, as to one application; yet they are not deficient in curiosity, and probably delight in inquiry, but the fact once acquired lies sterile: it produces no results further than that *it is so;* the modifications of circumstances are neither foreseen nor understood. These two distinct manifestations are often greatly misinterpreted: the one is considered a fool, the other very clever—neither opinion being correct.

In order to analyze the nature of youthful intellect, the child must be observed during its sports, and when uninfluenced by restraint. The preceptor must condescend to become its playfellow. It by no means follows that, in so doing, he loses his influence, for companions generally have greater power than instructors: hence the importance of discretion in the choice of companions; and the conclusion is obvious, that children should remain in that sacred asylum "*home*," until they can distinguish between good and evil, and have moral and intellectual strength to cling to the one and resist the other. The vulgar, ignorant, obstinate, passionate, or vicious playfellow of an hour will implant more evil than days, nay years of care can

root out. But when a child has learned that such things are wrong, he will fear and dislike the evil-doer, and avoid him as he would fly from any vicious animal.

The child having learned to distinguish between good and evil, and acquired habits of obedience, self-control, a love of truth, an affectionate confidence in its preceptor, with some idea of the utility of knowledge, and of its power to confer amusement (and in childhood amusement is happiness), the imaginary difficulty of learning to read will be half overcome, before the task appears to have commenced. And let it be observed that, as learning ought to be made pleasurable, so let it never be held forth as the awful affair it has been so long considered. It is only the ignorance or pedantry of the teacher which invests it with an austerity both false and hateful.

From the above remarks the following conclusions may be fairly drawn :—

First, that the formation of good habits is practicable at a very early age.

Second, that a system of regular control may be established and acted upon before the reasoning faculties and powers of speech are much developed.

Third, that with the development of reason and language increased means are afforded.

Fourth, that success in life and character depend more upon the parent than upon the child.

Fifth, that the tools (so to speak) which must be employed, are firmness, gentleness, consistency, patience, and maternal tenderness.

Sixth, that the materials to be acted upon are health, temperament, affection, and reason.

From these deductions, it is clear that the mother is,

to a great extent, responsible for the moral well-being of her child; that she has a duty to fulfil, demanding the practice of all the virtues which she wishes to inculcate, and requiring an informed and unprejudiced mind, with a clear and unwarped judgment. The personal attention required of her will not, if her time be well regulated, interfere with other duties.

We have advanced nothing that is not *practical*—nothing that is not in the power of every mother. We cannot even allow that there is much difficulty in what we propose: the *greatest* lies in the self-knowledge and self-command required by the parent. We have heard many mothers assert that they send their young children to a preparatory school because they have not time to attend to them at home. Have they found time to inquire into the system of that school, and the character of the companions whom their children will meet there? Do they find time to examine either the moral or intellectual attainments of their children?—to ascertain whether they have acquired virtuous habits?—or are they merely satisfied with knowing that Miss or Master is learning spelling, reading, geography, grammar, writing, and arithmetic. If mothers cannot find time personally to superintend the elementary education of their children, neither will they find time to ascertain *how* that education proceeds.

But they may eventually find time to lament over the influence of bad example, the ignorance of virtue, and the acquaintance with evil, in which their children have grown up;—they will have to mourn the loss of affection, confidence, friendship, and parental influence; and in addition to this, they may some time discover that their children have grown up entirely deficient in all useful or solid acquirements.

ON THE

IMPORTANCE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

By J. C. WARREN, M.D.

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When I had the honour of being invited to make some remarks at this meeting on the subject of physical education, I felt much hesitation in undertaking the task. This hesitation arose from the apprehension that professional occupations would render it impracticable for me to present the subject in such a form as to excite the interest it demands. Aware, however, that the course of my pursuits had put me in possession of facts having an important bearing on the present modes of education, and feeling anxious that these facts should be made known to instructors and parents, and others concerned in the management of the rising generation,—I felt myself called on to waive the consideration of the objections to this labour, and to trust the results of my experience, in such a dress as I could afford to give them, to the candour of those to whom they were to be submitted.

Nature has destined that the physical and intellectual education of man should be conducted in very different modes. The culture of the mind requires the early, constant, and well-directed efforts of an artificial system. That of the physical faculties is fully effected by the powers of unassisted nature. All that she asks is, that

we would leave her free and unconstrained. Unhappily, our state of civilization, while it has copiously supplied the means of intellectual improvement, has, nearly in the same ratio, raised obstacles to the development of the physical powers; and if we wished to restore to those their original spring, we should either revert to our primitive condition, or find substitutes in art for the modes employed by nature.

Considerations of this description have presented themselves occasionally, as I have been called to observe the evils arising from the prevalent systems of education, and also from too steady an application to literary pursuits in those whose education was completed. At one period, my attention was excited to the unfavourable influence of studious and sedentary habits on health, by the occurrence of alarming indisposition among the members of the sacred profession, a number of whom became its premature and much-lamented victims. At another, I witnessed the effects of a mistaken system, on the constitution of multitudes of the fairest work of creative power. I have had the misfortune to behold, when it was too late to apply a remedy, numerous instances of decay in the most vigorous constitutions, and of distortion in the best proportioned forms.

The importance of health to the regular exercise of the faculties of mind, as well as those of body, is very well understood in theory, and very generally neglected in practice. We are daily seen to accumulate the treasures of science on intellects where the physical machinery is disordered and made useless by the burden. What is the value of a brilliant genius, or a highly cultivated mind, to a weak and labouring frame? Let us suppose the existence of such a case in either of the

learned professions. If it occur in the minister of religion, the organs of utterance are enfeebled, and the power of instructing his hearers is diminished or destroyed. The thoughts that should speak remain unembodied in language, and the words that should burn are extinguished on his lips. His usefulness is impaired in the moment of his full career; and even if his days are not cut off at an early period, he finds his mental abilities prematurely chained down by bodily weakness.

If it happen in the interpreter of the law,—the powerful workings of the mind in the investigation of obscure points, and the elaboration of profound arguments, break down a sickly and yielding organization, and bring on a train of nervous affections and perverted imaginations, as permanent perhaps as life, and less supportable than death.

Again, a bad constitution in a professor of the healing art keeps him at variance with all his duties. How can he heal others, in whom the springs of health act feebly and imperfectly? A laborious and active course of duty demands a bodily vigour that can endure all kinds of unseasonable labour; a steadiness of fibre that can bear without agitation the sufferings of others, while attempting to relieve them; and a firmness of health able to resist the attacks of those malignant epidemics that prostrate a whole community.

When we regard the influence of a debilitated body on the more delicate sex, we find it not less distressing. A young female, at the age of twelve or fourteen, presents a beautiful figure, rosy cheeks, an airy step, and the fulness of life and happiness in every movement.

As she advances, her vivacity naturally lessens; but, as if it would not be soon enough extinguished, it must be repressed by art. The lively motions of the body and limbs must be checked, the spirits must be restrained, and a sort of unnatural hypocrisy made to conceal every ingenuous movement. The activity of disposition is destroyed; by confinement she loses the inclination for exercise, and passes from her school to a state of listlessness at home, or to frivolous and useless amusements, or perhaps to fresh tasks. By this regular repression of the physical powers, their energy is at last broken. Various organs lose their tone and their healthy action. Even the most solid parts are gradually impaired, and, being unable to support their ordinary burden, they sink under its weight, and bring on unchangeable deformity. Perhaps the exterior of health may remain a little longer, although the destroying principle is working in the heart. Should she be called on to be a mother, then comes the trial of her strength. The fruit, so fair without, is then found decayed within when scarcely matured. Next, the roses of the countenance wither; the limbs are feeble and tottering; the vivacity is extinguished; the whole system undermined, and ready to fall on the first impulse. Of what use now are all the finery of accomplishment, and the rich stores of literature and of science, the fruits of so many years' labour? They are all wasted, and perish unemployed.

What I have now stated as the result of the mode of female education in use at present is not a picture of the imagination; it is a fair representation of what we are compelled to encounter in almost daily experience.

My wish now is to point out some of the principal

ways in which literary pursuits may be destructive to health; and also to show what measures might be adopted to prevent these pernicious consequences.

Action is the object for which organization was created. If the organs are allowed to remain inactive, the channels of life become clogged; and the functions and even the structure get impaired. Young animals are filled with the desire of motion, in order that the fluids of the body may be forced rapidly through their tubes, the solids thus elongated and enlarged, and every part gradually and fully developed.

The immediate consequences of action on the bodily frame are familiar and visible to daily experience. Observe the sinewy arm of the mechanic. The muscles are large and distinct; and when put in motion they become as hard as wood and as strong as iron. Notice those who are accustomed to carry considerable weights on the head. The joints of the lower limbs are close-set and unyielding; the frame perfectly erect, and the attitude commanding. In the cultivator of the soil, though the form may be vitiated by neglect, you may observe that the appearance of every part is healthful, vigorous, and well fitted for labour.

While all of us are desirous of possessing the excellent qualities of strength, hardiness, and beauty, how defective are our systems of education in the means of acquiring them? In the present state of civilization, a child, soon after it can walk, is sent to school; not so much for the purpose of learning, as to relieve its parents of the trouble of superintending its early movements. As he grows older the same plan is incessantly pursued and improved on, till a large part of his time is passed in sedentary pursuits and in crowded rooms. In

the short intervals of mental occupation the boy is allowed to follow the bent of his inclinations, and to seek in play that exercise which nature imperiously demands. The development of his system, though not what it was destined to be, is attained in a certain way; and he is exempted from some of the evils which fall heavily on the other sex.

The female, at an early age, is discouraged from activity, as unbecoming her sex, and is taught to pass her leisure hours in a state of quietude at home. The effects of this habit have been already spoken of in general terms; and I would now point out some of its results in a specific manner.

In the course of my observations, I have been able to satisfy myself that about half the young females brought up as they are at present undergo some visible and obvious change of structure; that a considerable number are the subjects of great and permanent deviations; and that not a few entirely lose their health from the manner in which they are reared. The proportion of those who fall under the first description I have already stated. The amount of the two last it is impossible to ascertain with preciseness. I can venture to say that it is sufficient to constitute a powerful claim on the attention of those engaged in the management of young persons.

The nature of all the particular affections and diseases thus induced it would be impossible to describe in this place. I shall venture to direct your views to the details of only one of them.

The weight of the principal part of the body or trunk, the weight of the neck, the head, and the two upper extremities, are supported by a single bony column, called the spine. This column is about three inches in diameter.

It consists of twenty-four pieces of bone placed one on the other; and between each two is interposed a substance somewhat resembling caoutchouc or India-rubber, for the purpose of giving it elasticity. This column is hollow, and contains the spinal marrow. Now the spinal marrow is the origin and source of the nerves that convey the influence necessary to voluntary motion; and they are sent off in pairs to the various muscles. The bony pieces of the spine are confined together by many small ligaments, by the elastic substance just spoken of, and by numerous muscles, affixed, not only to connect and support, but also to move them.

The bones of the spine, at an early period of life, are themselves in part composed of an elastic, cartilaginous, or gristly substance; and are always of a porous and sponge-like texture. In consequence of this kind of organization the spinal column possesses much elasticity and flexibility, which enable it to yield and to move in different directions, and expose it to receive permanent flexures, when there is a deficiency of natural strength in its composing parts.

Causes which affect the health and produce general weakness, operate powerfully on this part, in consequence of the complexity of its structure, and the great burden it supports. When weakened, it gradually yields under its weight, becomes bent and distorted, losing its natural curves and acquiring others, in such directions as the operation of external causes tend to give to it; and these curves will be proportioned, in their degree and in their permanence, to the producing causes. If the supporting part is removed from its true position the parts supported necessarily follow, and thus a dis-

tortion of the spine effects a distortion of the trunk of the body.

The change commonly begins at the part which supports the right arm. The column bends towards the right shoulder, forms a convexity on the side where the shoulder rests, and thus elevates the right higher than the other. This elevation, or, as it is commonly called, growing out of the shoulder, is the first phenomenon that strikes the friends of the patient. Often when observed, it has already undergone a considerable change of position; and the change is not confined to the shoulder, nor to the portion of spine immediately connected with it. On examination it will be discovered that the curvature to the right in the upper part of the column is accompanied, as a natural consequence, by a bend of the lower part to the left, and a correspondent projection of the left hip. It is perfectly obvious that the inclination of the upper part of a flexible stick to one side will leave the lower part on the other; and when, by this inclination, the vertical support is lost, a disposition to yield at the curving points will continually increase until it be counteracted by some other power. Thus it happens, then, that any considerable projection of the right shoulder will be attended by a correspondent projection of the left hip.

The rising of the shoulder involves other changes in the osseous fabric. For, as the spinal bones support the ribs, when these bones project they necessarily push forward the ribs dependent on them. These ribs form the frame of the chest, and of course the right side of the chest is projected forwards, and causes a deformity in the fore-part of the body. Nor do the changes stop here. The posterior ends of the ribs being pushed for-

wards, and the anterior ends being confined to the sternum or breast-bone, the right edge of the sternum will be drawn forwards, and the left edge consequently turned backwards. The fore-parts of the left ribs will be gradually forced inwards or backwards, and thus the left side of the chest distorted and contracted.

I am aware how difficult it is to have a distinct notion of these intricate changes in the human machinery, without an exhibition of the parts concerned in them; but it is my duty to represent the train of phenomena as they exist in nature; and I think they are sufficiently intelligible to excite consideration and inquiry.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the cases I have described are of rare occurrence, and that we have no occasion to alarm ourselves about a few strange distortions, the consequence of peculiar and accidental causes. If such were in fact the truth, I would not have occupied your time with the minute details of these unpleasant subjects. Unhappily they are very common. I feel warranted in the assertion already intimated, that of the well-educated females within my sphere of experience, about *one-half are affected with some degree of distortion of the spine.* This statement will not be thought exaggerated when compared with that of one of the latest and most judicious foreign writers. Speaking of the right lateral curvature of the spine, just described, he tells us, "it is so common, that out of twenty young girls who have attained the age of fifteen years, there are not two who do not present very manifest traces of it*."

As the bones serve to contain most of the great organs, any change in their forms will be likely to produce changes in the condition and healthy action of these

* Lachaise, Sur les Courbures de la Colonne Vertebrale, p. 23.

organs. The spine gives lodgment, as has been said, to the spinal marrow; and this sends out nearly all the nerves that carry the influence of voluntary motion, and many of those that convey energy to the great organs of respiration, circulation, and digestion. When the containing part is distorted, the part contained is likely to be disturbed, and this disturbance must produce important effects on the nerves issuing from it, and of course on the organs to which these nerves are distributed. If the compression be slight, the operations of the organs will be partially disturbed. Hence proceed shortness of breath; palpitation of the heart; the phenomena of indigestion, flatulence, acidity, &c. These again give rise to the uncomfortable feelings called nervous; though I believe they are sometimes the direct consequence of partial compression of the spinal marrow. When this pressure is considerable, the bad consequences are more obvious and formidable. In such instances the muscles supplied with nerves from the part below that compressed lose their activity. The circulation in the lower limbs is retarded, and they grow cold and livid, and swell. Sometimes even a complete paralysis, or loss of the power of motion, occurs in one or in both of these extremities.

The ribs and the breast-bone enclose and guard, as we have said, the organs of the chest. Their position being altered by the deviation of the spine, the cavity they form becomes deranged. Its left part, where the heart is placed, being diminished in extent, this organ is embarrassed in its movements, and, striving to relieve itself, produces painful and dangerous palpitations, and a general disturbance in the circulatory system. The lungs, for the same reasons, cannot fully expand. This

function is partially performed, and the blood imperfectly oxygenated—an irregularity of itself sufficient to bring on a low state of health, and a disposition to disease.

The want of conformity between these organs and the bones they are in contact with, causing interference between the parts, an irritable condition of the lungs may be engendered, disposing to acute inflammation, or to the slow development of chronic disease.

Having given some notion of the nature of the affections brought on by mistakes during the time of education, I shall advert now to their causes.

The general causes of these derangements are those things that weaken the constitution. They may be physical or mental. Among the most important physical causes are, want of the exercise proper to develop the powers of the body, and the taking of food improper in quantity or quality. The mental causes may be a too constant occupation of the mind in study; the influence of feelings or passions of a depressing nature, &c.

The facts that show the want of exercise to be one of the greatest causes of these affections, and of the weakness that induces them, are very numerous. On the one side, we observe that young people, brought up to hardy and laborious occupations, whether they are males or females, do not suffer in this way. The sons and daughters of farmers and labourers, for example, never exhibit the deformities spoken of, except in cases where there is a great scrofulous defect by inheritance.

A still more remarkable fact of a general nature may be seen, on a comparison in this respect between the

two sexes. The lateral distortion of the spine is almost wholly confined to females, and is scarcely ever found existing in the other sex. The proportion of the former to the latter is at least nine to one. In truth, I may say that I have scarcely ever witnessed a remarkable distortion, of the kind now spoken of, in a boy. What is the cause of the disparity? They are equally well formed by nature; or, if there be any difference, the symmetry of all parts is more perfect in the female than in the male. The difference in physical organization results from a difference of habits during the school education. It is not seen till after this process is advanced. The girl, when she goes from school, is, as we have before said, expected to go home, and remain, at least a large part of the time, confined to the house. As soon as the boy is released, he begins to run and jump and frolic in the open air, and continues his sports till hunger draws him to his food. The result is, that in him all the organs get invigorated, and the bones of course become solid; while a defect exists in the other proportionate to the want of physical motion.

A question may fairly be asked, why these evils are greater now than formerly, when females were equally confined? The answer, in reference to the young females of our country, is, that they then took a considerable share in the laborious part of the domestic duties; now, they are devoted to literary occupations, of a nature to confine the body, and require considerable efforts of the mind.

I shall not, in this place, say anything of the second of the physical causes of weakness spoken of, as it will be adverted to hereafter. The next of these causes which

presents itself to our view, is of a moral nature;—the influence of too great occupation of the mind in study, and that of feelings and passions of a depressing nature.

The operation of mental causes on the bodily frame is not unknown to any of us; though they may not perhaps have been thought, in regard to education, to be of very great importance. As it is not in my power to enter fully into the subject, I would barely present it for your consideration.

The effects of anxiety, grief, and other feelings, in diminishing strength and wearing away health, are quite familiar. The loss of property and of friends has been known to bring on diseases; and it has sometimes happened, that an agreeable reverse or a favourable incident has speedily removed them. Confidence in a physician is a great help towards receiving benefit from his prescriptions; and many of the cures wrought by empirical or quack medicines are to be attributed rather to the operation of the mind than to the action of the medicines on the disease.

The production of physical changes in a sudden and sensible way, by the action of moral causes, is comparatively rare, and difficult to comprehend. Yet medical men do sometimes have an opportunity of observing changes effected by this power, which might appear incredible, and almost miraculous, to those not aware of the force of mental operations on the human organs. I could adduce many such cases. Perhaps it will be proper to state one or two in detail.

When, some years ago, the metallic tractors were in the height of their reputation for the cure of diseases by external application to the part affected, the following

experiment was performed by Dr. Haygarth of Bath. Two tractors were prepared, not of metal but of a substance different from the genuine tractors, and made to resemble them. These were applied, in a number of instances, with all the good effects of the real tractors. Among other remarkable cures was that of a person with a contraction of the knee joint, from a disease of six months' duration. After a few minutes' application this man was directed to use his limb, and, to the surprise of all present, he was able to walk about the room. Such instances are not very unusual. Many empirics succeed by calling into action the same principle. The patient, after a number of contortions of the part affected, is directed to make use of his limb; and though this call on his imagination does not infallibly succeed, it is not wonderful that it occasionally does so.

I will relate another case of this kind. Some time since, a female presented herself to me with a tumour or swelling of the submaxillary gland of the neck, which had become what is commonly called a wen. It was about the size of an egg, had lasted two years, and was so very hard that I considered any attempt to dissipate it by medicine to be vain, and advised its removal by an operation. To this the patient could not bring her mind; therefore, to satisfy her wish, I directed some applications of considerable activity to be made to the part, and these she pursued a number of weeks, without any change. After this she called on me, and, with some hesitation, begged to know whether an application recommended to her would in my opinion be safe. This consisted in applying the hand of a dead man three times to the diseased part. One of her neighbours now lay dead, and she had an opportunity of trying the ex-

periment, if thought not dangerous. At first I was disposed to divert her from it; but, recollecting the power of the imagination, I gravely assured her she might make the trial without apprehension of serious consequences. Awhile after she presented herself once more, and, with a smiling countenance, informed me she had used this remedy and no other since I saw her; and, on examining for the tumour, I found it had disappeared.

The possibility of operating powerfully on the corporeal organization by moral causes being admitted, it is clear that the long exertion of intellectual efforts, and still more the frequent action of depressing passions, may, and even must, have a great influence on the condition of the body, at the flexible period when education and growth are going on together. A close and constant occupation of mind too long continued lessens the action of the heart; and a languid circulation thus being induced, prevents the full growth of the body. Depressing passions act more conspicuously. You may possibly have noticed, though the case is rare in this country, the condition of children subjected to a persevering system of harshness at home. They are pale and shrivelled, and their growth is checked.

In the present modes of education great pains are taken to excite the imagination by competition. These efforts are attended with but too much success in susceptible minds. An anxiety to excel becomes the predominant passion. The health, the sports, and too often the friendships of youth, are sacrificed to the desire of surpassing those around. When this becomes an all-absorbing passion, the result is most unfriendly

to physical organization; and a multitude of fine constitutions are ruined by it in both sexes.

Whether any proper substitute can be found, in our sex, for competition and rivalry, I must leave to others to decide. So far as my experience extends, I should give an affirmative answer; and while I do not pretend to be a very competent judge in the case, it is fair to say, that the habit of giving public instructions for more than twenty years has afforded me some conclusions of a satisfactory nature.

The application of the system of rivalry to the softer sex, I speak with submission to greater experience, appears to me fraught with mischief. It inflames the imagination, festers the passions, and poisons the happiness of the brightest days of life; and since the very highest grade of literary acquirement is not essential to the duties of the sex, it seems as unnecessary as it is pernicious.

I have just made a question whether there is a substitute which is sufficiently practical to be of general use. I do not know that there is; and if none exists, I think the ingenuity and intelligence of instructors could not be employed on a more important subject than in devising such substitute. The spirit of improvement has, I imagine, already discovered that the reasoning process may be generally employed with great success in the instruction of young persons. I know individuals who use it to a considerable extent, and with the most happy results. They endeavour to enforce on their pupils the doctrine that the path of duty is the most easy and most for the interest of the individual to pursue. They do this by conversation and by argument; and the process

succeeds with those who are capable of being influenced in any way,—and why should it not? Children of the earliest age are perfectly capable of feeling the force of reason; and I believe it will generally be found that they are under the power of their parents rather in proportion to the employment of this agent than to that of the rod or any other compulsory means. If they understand reason at so early a period, surely they cannot lose their susceptibility to it at one more advanced. There are, I know, minds on which the powers of language make no impression, and all the weapons of argument fall as if pointless. But these are to be considered as exceptions to general laws—cases in which all the means of severity and kindness equally fail. They should not cause discouragement. Patience is the everlasting motto of the instructor. With it he performs wonders—without it he can do nothing.

The remarks made above will give some notion of the most important of what I conceive to be general causes of ill health and imperfect growth during the educating process.

It may not be useless to say a few words on some of the immediate causes of spinal distortion, which may be called local, in opposition to the former.

The most obvious of the local causes are bad postures of the body and limbs. The habit of bending the neck while writing or drawing gradually compresses the vertebræ and the intervertebral substance on their anterior part, and causes a permanent change in the form of this part of the spinal column. This distortion is so very common among us, that we are apt to consider it a natural formation. In fact, however, it is entirely artificial in a great number of instances. Sometimes it

is the consequence of negligence, and not unfrequently of timidity. Whether it tends to impair the health always I will not say—that it sometimes does so I am certain; and its effect in deforming the shape is even greater than a moderate degree of lateral curve.

The immediate cause of the lateral curve of the spine to the right, opposite to the right shoulder, is the elevation and action of the right arm in drawing and writing. This posture pulls the part of the spinal column to which the muscles of the right arm are fixed to the right side. The convexity of the spine thus produced keeps the right shoulder elevated and the left consequently depressed. The lower part of the column is thrown to the left side; and this displacement being favoured by the disposition to rest on the left foot, while standing to speak or read, there comes to be a permanent projection of the left hip. The postures employed in practising on musical instruments sometimes bring on these distortions; as, for example, a great use of the harp favours the disposition to lateral curvature, from the constant extension of the right arm.

Having adverted to the nature and the causes of some of the defects that arise from want of attention to physical education, I shall now throw out some hints as to the modes in which it may be improved.

Nature, as we have before said, if left to herself, is all-sufficient to the development of physical organization. But we live in an artificial state—a state that continually thwarts the course of the native dispositions of the animal economy; and as we must abandon the advantages of these, we must seek for substitutes in an artificial process.

The principles which should form the basis of such a

process will readily be seen, on attending to the nature and the causes of these defects. We shall observe that the remedy, or rather the preventive means, lies in a certain regulation of the sentiments and passions and intellectual operations; in promoting bodily activity; in a salutary regimen, and in some other inferior considerations. In regard to the first of these, that is, to what relates to the mind, I have already said all I intend at this time, and I shall now advert to the others.

Towards a perfect system of education it is necessary there should be a balance preserved between physical and intellectual cultivation. When the mind is closely occupied the body should be carefully guarded. If the pursuits of the former are severe and absorbing, those of the latter should be cheerful and relaxing. Instead, then, of abandoning the physical to the intellectual culture, it should be increased in the same ratio, and followed with the same earnestness.

Exercise is so material to physical education that it has sometimes been used synonymously, though it really constitutes only a part of it. In order that exercise may have its due operation it must begin at the earliest period of life, and of course the parent must in this act the part of instructor. He must take pains to have the infant carried into the air every day, and in every season; for, whatever may be the dangers of such a course, they are in the end less than those incident to the accidental exposures of a delicate constitution. In the earlier years, the dress should be arranged so as to allow that use of the body and limbs to which nature prompts, with freedom and without impropriety. When children are sent to school care should be taken that they are not confined too long. Children under fourteen

should not be kept in school more than six or seven hours a day; and this period should be shortened for females. It is expedient that it should be broken into many parts, so as to avoid a long confinement at one time. Young persons, however well disposed, cannot support a restriction to one place and one posture. Nature resists such restrictions; and, if enforced, they are apt to create disgust with the means and the object. Thus children learn to hate studies that might be rendered agreeable, and they take an aversion to instructors who would otherwise be interesting to them.

The postures they assume while seated at their studies are not indifferent. They should be frequently warned against the practice of maintaining the head and neck long in a stooping position; and the disposition to it should be lessened by giving a proper elevation and slope to the desk; and the seat should have a support or back of a few inches, at its edge. The arms must be kept on the same level; and there should be room to support them equally, or the right will be apt to rise above the left, from its constant use and elevation. A standing posture in writing and studying is not commendable for young persons. The secret of posture consists in avoiding all bad positions, and avoiding all positions long continued.

The ordinary carriage of the body in walking should be an object of attention to every instructor. How different are the impressions made on us by a man, whose attitude is erect and commanding, and by one who walks with his face directed to the earth, as if fearful of encountering the glances of those he meets! Such attentions are even of great importance to the fairer sex, where we naturally look for attraction in

some form or shape. If nature has not given beauty of face to all, she has given the power of acquiring a graceful movement and upright form—qualities more valuable and more durable than the other. These qualities are lost or gained at school; and of course they lie, to some extent, within the control of the instructor. It seems to me it would afford a great addition of satisfaction to the superintendent and guardian of the rising population, to be able to send out to the world his annual recruits, not only well imbued with knowledge and virtue, but also endowed with a handsome form and graceful manners.

The influence of an upright form and open breast on the health, has been, I think, sufficiently explained; and what may be done to acquire these qualities is shown by many remarkable facts, one of which I will mention. For a great number of years, it has been the custom in France to give young females, of the earliest age, the habit of holding back the shoulders, and thus expanding the chest. From the observations of anatomists lately made, it appears that the clavicle or collar-bone is actually longer in females of the French nation than in those of the English. As the two nations are of the same race, as there is no other remarkable difference in their bones, and this is peculiar to the sex, it must be attributed, as I believe, to the habit above-mentioned, which, by the extension of the arms, has gradually produced a national elongation of this bone. Thus we see that habit may be employed to alter and improve the solid bones. The French have succeeded in the development of a part, in a way that adds to health and beauty, and increases a characteristic that distinguishes the human being from the brute.

As young persons advance in age, and as the disposition to motion naturally diminishes, it becomes important to encourage and provide for it, especially in females, and in young men of studious character. Instead of restraining their movements, and blaming the disposition to frolic, they should be allowed and advised to it, at proper times, and in becoming modes.

Next to walking in the open air, the best exercise for a young female is dancing. This brings into action a large part of the muscles of the body and lower limbs, and gives them grace and power. The mode in which I wish to recommend its use, is not in balls and parties, and crowded assemblies, but at home, alone, or with two or three friends, or in the domestic circle. As this practice does not give motion to the upper limbs, and as the exercising them is too apt to be neglected, it is important to provide the means of bringing them into action, as well to develop their own powers, as to enlarge and invigorate the chest, with which they are connected, and which they powerfully influence. The best I know of is the use of the triangle.* This admirably exerts the upper limbs and the muscles of the chest—and, indeed, when adroitly employed, those of the whole body. The plays at ball with both hands, and that of dumb-bells, are useful. The parallel bars afford a very fine exercise for the muscles of the body and upper limbs. Battledoor I should recommend to be played with the left hand as well as the right—a habit, like all others, acquired by due practice. While

* The triangle is made of a stick of walnut wood, four feet long, an inch and a half in diameter. To each end is connected a rope, the opposite extremities of which being confined together, are secured to the ceiling of a room, at such height as to allow the motion of swinging by the hands.

I particularly mention these, I should advise as great a diversity as possible, in exercise and amusement: so that, when the mind or the muscles get fatigued with one, they may take up another with fresh ardour. Every seminary of young persons should be provided with the instruments for these exercises: they are not expensive, occupy but little room, and are of unspeakable importance.

While active exercises should occupy time sufficient to excite the circulation, and to put in motion the organs, there must also be an occasional relaxation. At proper intervals, the whole muscular apparatus should be allowed to repose. I do not mean that the young lady should sleep during the day; but I wish to advise a graceful attitude on a couch or sofa, as a necessary alternation to muscular or mental effort.

The remarks last made have reference principally to the exercises of young ladies, who are more likely to suffer in this respect, in our plans of education, than the other sex.

The necessity of cultivating the physical powers in young men is sufficiently understood. The establishment of gymnasia through the country, promised, at one period, the opening of a new era in physical education. The exercises were pursued with ardour so long as their novelty lasted; but, owing to not understanding their importance, or some defect in the institutions which adopted them, they have gradually been neglected and forgotten, at least in our vicinity. The benefits which resulted from these institutions, within my personal knowledge and experience, far transcended the most sanguine expectations. I have known many instances of protracted and distressing affections wholly removed;

of weakly organized forms unfolded and invigorated, and of the attainment of extraordinary degrees of muscular energy and elasticity in persons in health.

The diversions of the gymnasium should constitute a regular part of the duties of all our colleges and seminaries of learning; and to give them the requisite power of excitement, the system of rewards, so dangerous when mismanaged in literary education, might be introduced without any ill effect. Our young men may surely find time to cultivate those exercises which Cicero and Cæsar, and some of the most studious among the ancient and modern philosophers, considered necessary, and contrived to prosecute in the midst of their studies and affairs.*

If the gymnasium is deserted because it calls for too much effort, let me entreat them at least to adopt a regular plan of walking. Two hours a day must be devoted to this business without relaxation, unless they are willing to carry the mark of disorder in the face while young, and a dyspeptic, nervous, disabled frame through that part of life which requires health and activity.

* Cicero is described by Plutarch, as being, at one period of his life, extremely lean and slender, and having such a weakness in his stomach, that he could eat but little, and that not till late in the evening. He travelled to Athens, however, for the recovery of his health, where his body was so strengthened by gymnastic exercises, as to become firm and robust; and his voice, which had been harsh, was thoroughly formed, and rendered sweet, full, and sonorous.

In regard to Julius Cæsar, the same author informs us, that he was originally of a slender habit of body, had a soft and white skin, was troubled with pains in his head, and subject to epilepsy; but, by continual marches, coarse diet, and frequent lodging in the fields, he struggled against these diseases, and used war, and the exercises and hardships therewith connected, as the best medicine against these indispositions.—*Sir John Sinclair.*

I have often been asked how it is the German literati preserve their health without exercise. Some of them are known to pass most of their time in study, and think not of wasting their precious moments in taking care of their bodies. To this I reply: first, that they are careful to acquire a good constitution by habits of activity while they are young. The organs are properly developed, and confirmed in healthy action. Secondly, they do not break down their strength by luxurious ways of living and the free use of stimulant drinks in early age. Thirdly, which is the great secret, they live most abstemiously. The digestive organs are not overburdened with food, and stand not in need of extraordinary efforts to relieve them.

Let those who are compelled to sedentary pursuits, seasonably lay aside one-half of their ordinary food, and they will experience no loss of time in combating the horrors of dyspepsia.

The inhabitants of the Philadelphia Penitentiary, confined to a uniform regimen, which of course limits itself, enjoy uninterrupted health. Those who were diseased from bad habits before they became its tenants are effectually cured after a short residence.

Regulation of the food is of primary consequence towards the formation of a good constitution. The most common error in relation to it consists in the use of too much food. Nature has given us organs of a certain capacity, on the presumption that, being called on to manual labour, we should then require a large quantity of food. Muscular efforts exhaust the strength, and require renovation by nutritious substances; but when the muscular efforts are small, the quantity of nourishment required is comparatively trifling; and if, in con-

sequence of the capacity of the gastric organ, a large quantity is taken, the result will be pernicious, directly or indirectly. Parents are uneasy when their children eat but little, and would encourage them to eat against their inclination. No mistake can be more pernicious to health; and if persevered in, disease will infallibly result from it. When the child wants appetite, instead of being compelled to take food, it must be compelled to take exercise, unless positively ill, and then it must be compelled to take medicine.

The quantity of liquid given to young persons is decidedly injurious. The principal agent in the digesting process, is a solvent juice. The more this is diluted with fluids, the weaker it is, and the less perfect the digestive action. Animal food should be sparingly taken by young persons who use little exercise; and children generally do not need it. Bread and milk, and fruit, are the best articles for those who do not labour. Wine is highly pernicious to young persons. It is a slow but certain poison. Before the body has attained its full growth, there is an overplus of excitability; and if to this is added the powerful agency of wine, or any other stimulating drink, the constitution cannot fail to be hurt. Females are more injured by stimulating drinks than males, because their system is more susceptible of physical excitement. The nervous power is more energetic; the pulse and respiration are quicker; and the development of animal heat greater. Hence, I suppose, it is, that they require less covering in cold weather; and suffer more inconvenience from heat than the other sex.

Females are unfortunately compelled by fashion to adopt partial and unequal coverings of the body. A part of the chest is very much covered, while another

part is wholly exposed. The dangers which spring from fashion are more easily pointed out than avoided. They serve at least to place in a clearer light the necessity of inuring young females to exposure, and invigorating them by exercise.

There is one part of female dress, the dangers of which have been made known, but which still, I fear, continues to be practised; I mean the girting the chest.

In what notions of beauty this practice took its origin, I am unable to discover. The angular projections formed by a tightly drawn cord, are in direct opposition to the models of Grecian or Roman beauty. In the flowing robes of the Juno, the Vesta, and Diana, every part is light and graceful. Nor have I been able to discover, in the representation of the Muses or the Graces, any habiliment which would lead us to believe they wore stays or corsets. The taste of the other sex is uniformly opposed to the wasp-like waist and the boarded chest. Yet, strange as it seems, there is scarcely a young lady of fifteen, who has not imbibed a disposition for this species of application, and scarcely a well-dressed lady of any age, whose chest is not confined in such a manner as to impede the motions of respiration and the free use of the muscles of the upper extremities. It is true we are constantly told that they are uncomfortable without these appendages; but this only shows what great inconveniences we can, by habit, become accustomed to. The Indian nations, who consider the flattened forehead to be a beauty, confine the heads of their infants between two pieces of board corded together, and the child exists under this pressure and may grow up. Yet there can be no doubt that diseases are generated by it; that some lose their lives, and others

their intellects. Still the fashion continues from age to age; for I have now in my possession flattened heads which must have lived some hundreds of years since, and others which have belonged to individuals of the existing generation.

Nature has so contrived the human chest that there is no superfluous play of the parts composing it. Its movements are just sufficient to give such an expansion to the lungs and such an extent of oxygenation of the blood, as are adequate to the wants of the individual under different occurrences. In females, the chest is shorter than in males; and to compensate for this, the motion of the ribs is naturally more extensive and more frequent. Whatever limits this motion is, therefore, peculiarly injurious to the sex; especially as they are more disposed to consumption and other chronic affections of the lungs. Now, the ligatures in the fashionable dress are placed precisely on that part where the motion should be greatest, that is, the lower part. It is precisely here, that, in case of fracture of the ribs, when we desire to stop the movements of the chest, we apply a tight bandage; though rarely do we venture to make it so tight as the ordinary corsets. The effect of such pressure, begun at an early period of life, will be understood from what has been stated in regard to the spine. The bones must yield to it; their shape becomes permanently altered; the lower part of the breast contracted; the space destined by nature for the heart and lungs diminished; and what the fatal results of all this on these tender and vital organs are, every day's experience shows us. The influence on the health, though slow, is certain. It may not at once produce consumption; but it lays the foundation for ills it would

pain you to hear and me to describe. I will only say, by way of specification, that, among other diseases of which this is the fruitful germ, I have known three instances of perpetual headache, at last bringing on insanity and terminating in death. The immediate cause of the disease was the compression of the heart and great blood vessels, and the consequent accumulation of blood in the head.

As young ladies are disposed to this practice, probably by fancies communicated by their companions, those who have charge of them should not only prohibit these applications—they should, for themselves, observe whether anything is wrong; and after the young ladies have reached the age when dress is considered a primary object, they should resolutely oppose every encroachment on the rights of the vital organs, beyond what is required by a decent attention to the prejudices of the day.

If I might call your attention to other topics of interest connected with this subject, I should advert to the constant use of cold-bathing, especially the shower-bath, as very conducive to invigoration of the body and to lessening the susceptibility to the injurious effects of cold on the surface of the skin. I would speak of the advantages of regular friction over the whole surface, and especially the chest and the neck, those parts which are constantly to be exposed to the air. The judicious use of the voice by reading aloud, I should highly commend. It invigorates the lungs, and gives action to the whole digestive apparatus; but I should not speak so favourably of singing—a delightful accomplishment, indeed, but only to be pursued by those whose chests are ample, and pulmonary organs vigorous. These subjects I can

barely allude to, without entering into the details of their particular application, having extended these remarks much beyond my original design.

Let me conclude by entreating your attention to a revision of the existing plans of education, in what relates to the preservation of health. Too much of the time of the better educated part of young persons, is, in my humble opinion, devoted to literary pursuits and sedentary occupations; and too little to the acquisition of the corporeal powers indispensable to make the former practically useful. If the present system does not undergo some change, I much apprehend we shall see a degenerate and sinking race, such as came to exist among the higher classes in France, before the revolution, and such as now deforms a large part of the noblest families in Spain;* but if the spirit of improvement, so happily awakened, continue, as I trust it will, to animate those concerned in the formation of the young members of society, we shall soon be able, I doubt not, to exhibit an active, beautiful, and wise generation, of which the age may be proud.

* I am informed, by a lady who passed a long time at the Spanish court, in a distinguished situation, that the Grandees have deteriorated by their habits of living, and the restriction of intermarriages to their own rank, to a race of dwarfs, and, though fine persons are sometimes seen among them, they, when assembled at court, appear to be a group of manikins.

ON THE DISCIPLINE OF LARGE BOARDING SCHOOLS.*

By G. LONG.

(From the Quarterly Journal of Education, No. XIX.)

The question of discipline, or the management and government of boys in schools, is now beginning to receive that attention in England to which its importance entitles it. But, like many questions of a political and moral nature, it is generally encumbered with considerations foreign to the matter; the consequence of which is, that there is far from being that uniformity of opinion which would probably result from the question being clearly stated and fairly argued. Among our older writers, both Ascham and Locke have touched on this head. In Ascham's "Schoolmaster" it forms only a subordinate part of his subject, and is not treated with sufficient method: still his remarks taken singly are good. Locke, in his "Essay on Education," had mainly in view private and domestic education: but the excellence of his remarks on this division of the subject makes us regret that so just a thinker did not handle the whole matter of education, both private and public. It is true that many of his remarks, particularly those on beating boys, apply generally, and may help any dispassionate

* This paper was written in consequence of the opinions expressed in a letter addressed to the Editor of the Journal of Education.—This Letter, signed "A Wykhamist," is printed in the Journal of Education, No. XVIII.

inquirer in forming his judgment on this part of the question.

The practice of English schools in the government of boys, and particularly the practice of some of our public schools, has often been condemned in the Journal of Education; sometimes only incidentally, on other occasions in a more direct way. Such observations, it may be presumed, are not agreeable to those engaged in the direction of such schools; for though many masters may admit, to a certain extent, the truth of what is said, none like to have the establishments with which they are connected held up to public reprobation. There seems, however, to be no way of effecting a reform in such establishments, but by convincing people that they require amendment. No great improvement can be expected from those who have the management of these places of education, unless they see the necessity of making it; and the necessity for such change must have its origin in a conviction, generally diffused among parents, of the importance of a school-reform. This Journal has attempted to show that our schools require great modifications in order to become good places of education; and that our endowed schools particularly require to be remodelled, and to be placed under the superintendence of the State. In treating subjects of this kind, opinions must be founded on a collection and comparison of facts, some of which, supposed to be best suited to the purpose, are stated as the grounds of coming to certain conclusions. There may be error in stating such facts, and, no doubt, mistakes are sometimes made: but no statements as to schools have been made in this Journal without previous inquiry; very few facts here stated have been called in question, and none have been

proved to be erroneous without being afterwards corrected. If any person, whose name is a sufficient guarantee that he deserves credit, will point out any misstatements in the Journal of Education, as to any place of education, his observations shall be inserted, and he shall have our thanks for his pains. As to the nature of the instruction and the discipline in schools, either public or private, those are better, because more impartial, judges who are not engaged in the direction of such schools than those who are—provided they have had sufficient opportunities of knowing what schools are, and provided they have duly reflected on all the parts of this extensive and complicated subject.

After these preliminary remarks, it may be expected that the Editor of the Journal of Education should give his reasons for having sanctioned both attacks on the established modes of education, and on the discipline of the public schools of this country. As the opinions which he holds on the matter of education are nearly altogether inconsistent with those of "A Wykhamist," it will be better to enter on the general subject without taking the paragraphs of the Letter in regular order and commenting on them. It is only necessary to premise that the following observations refer almost entirely to large boarding-schools; whether they be endowed schools, or speculations of private individuals, is immaterial for our present purpose.

The term Education, which is generally used in the limited sense of instruction in certain branches of knowledge, comprehends, as we use it, all the means for forming the entire character of a man. In ordinary language, and in common practice, it is indeed restricted very nearly to the teaching of two or three languages,

and a few branches of science; but even those teachers who confine their labours to this narrow and comparatively barren field, admit that education means something more than this: they admit this not by what they do, but by what they profess to do. Certain formal religious observances, the remnant of a more systematic and wholesome discipline, are now called "religious instruction;" under which term is comprehended that part of school education, the professed object of which is to make youth acquainted with Christian duties, to train them to the practice of Christian duties, and generally to make religious and moral men. The formal part of this branch of instruction is doubtless in many schools carefully attended to; and the practical part also may, in some schools, be successfully inculcated. Indeed, the terms of the charters and rules of all our endowed schools, and the printed prospectuses of our private boarding-schools, show that the founders in the one instance, and the individual speculators in the other, contemplate something beyond the mere intellectual instruction, which is given in certain hours specially set apart for that purpose. It is not necessary to attempt to ascertain very precisely what is now meant when the directors of schools profess to give youth a religious and moral education; nor could many of them, if they were asked, tell us exactly what they mean. What some of them mean is simply this: they make the announcement of "religious and moral education" in conformity to the opinions which they suppose to be prevalent among those who are likely to send their children. Others do really mean to say, that they wish, as far as they can, to train boys so that they shall be moral and religious men. They do not mean to say, that they have thought much

about the best way of doing this, nor that they feel competent from reflection and experience to do what they have undertaken. Still the terms "moral and religious education," so familiar in every person's mouth at present, show sufficiently, in a general way, what kind of discipline these terms refer to. All persons engaged in education, in some form or other profess to train youth to be virtuous: it only remains to see how they go about it, and whether their methods require improvement.

Among those teachers and those writers on education who have directed their thoughts more particularly to the formation of character, we find, at the present day, two classes, both included in the comprehensive name of friends of education, who are now beginning to show themselves more clearly, and to separate into distinct groups. One party believe that the inculcation of religious dogmas is of primary importance—that this inculcation should be commenced at the earliest age—that without a knowledge of, and a belief in, these doctrines, no man can have safe principles for his conduct in life—and that any attempt at education which is not based on Christian doctrine, and solely guided by Christian rules, is useless and even dangerous. Of this party we may say that the success of their labours seldom equals their expectations, and, mainly as we think, owing to their having neglected those other means without which bare doctrinal instruction can produce no results. The other party believe that the inculcation of religious dogmas at a very early age is not a good way of forming character, and some of them think that it is a very bad way: they believe that a regular systematic training, framed in accordance with the principles of human nature, and superintended by a man whose example shall be a proper

model for imitation, is the true way of forming a good character. They mainly trust to the repetition of a number of acts done in conformity to a general principle or truth for the formation of good habits; and they would endeavour to check or counteract all bad tendencies, and the development of all erroneous notions, by a constant and vigilant superintendence. Few schools have yet been administered on these principles, either long enough, or systematically enough, to prove how much can be done in forming youth to good habits. Still, among those who have carefully reflected on early education, there is a large number who believe that religious and moral precepts have in themselves very little weight in early age, and who believe that no mere teaching of doctrines, either religious or moral, is of any efficacy at all compared with the durable impressions made by the constant repetition of certain acts under the superintendence of the teacher.

Many well-meaning persons in this country, who have a firm belief in the necessity of implanting religious truths early in the mind, are apt to overrate the efficacy of this instruction, and to expect results from it which experience does not confirm, and which a calm investigation would never lead us to expect. This is the case with most of the schools for the poor in this country, in which the formal part of religion is almost the only thing taught. It is the case also in many private schools, where religious observances are kept with a strictness that to many parents seems to be the surest guarantee for the formation of a religious character in their children. The compulsory attendance on the ceremonies of religion in our colleges, and in some of our endowed schools, is another instance of this kind. But in all

these cases, it is well known, that neither an active religious belief, nor even a mere acquiescence in the truths of revealed religion, is secured in the majority of pupils by this formal teaching—much less are those habits acquired on which a man's right conduct depends. So much are all men governed by habits, and so little is the mass of mankind capable of reflection, that it is surprising that those who have shown so much zeal for the improvement of their fellow-creatures have not availed themselves of these truths. A large part of those who pass through life creditably and usefully never reflect at all either on moral or religious truth: many very ignorant persons are totally incapable of it; and yet they discharge the ordinary duties of life at least blamelessly, and if no very unfavourable influence turns them from the regular tenor of their course, they may pass through the world with a fair character, and on the whole do much more good than harm to society. Many owe this happiness solely to a calm temperament; but a considerable number to the accident of having been early accustomed to regularity and labour, and having had the good fortune, in after-life, to be brought into contact with those only whose example and general mode of life were decent and orderly. This is not a very high kind of character, it may be said; but it is a much better character than will be produced, in the majority of instances, by the mere teaching of any set of rules or doctrines, which are in themselves but feeble restraints on the desires and passions, and the feebler in proportion to the weakness of the understanding.

It appears, then, that in the schools for the poor, the practical influence of mere religious teaching has been exceedingly over-rated—a fact now admitted by many

well-informed men, who are still zealous for the propagation of Christian truth. It appears also that, in the schools for the wealthier classes, a similar erroneous notion is firmly fixed. The influence of the religious instruction, or the bare religious ceremonial, on the conduct of the boys, has been over-rated, and this mistake has contributed to a neglect of proper discipline. Not that this is the only cause why the discipline of all or nearly all our large schools is in its present deplorable state; for the total absence of a general superintending and corrective power (a power which can only be exercised by the State) has had a large share in producing this want of unity and sound principles of government in all our places of education: but adherence to the mere forms of religious instruction and the concomitant neglect of true discipline have perhaps done more. As the origin of our schools is traced to the ancient religious establishments of the country, it seems likely (indeed, we may say, it is certain) that the teaching of Christian doctrine and strict exercise in Christian discipline were formerly combined. The discipline gradually fell into disuse; but the teaching of the doctrines continued: and as this too has now become, in many schools, a mere matter of form, not considered near so important as the common lessons of the day, we cannot be surprised that it has altogether lost its efficacy, and that "it is so difficult to make a large school a place of Christian education *." It is clear that this must be a natural consequence, as schools are now constituted.

If the doctrines of religion, as either specially taught at some schools to young boys, or presented to them merely in the way of formal observances, as is the case

* Letter of "A Wykhamist," Journal, No. XVIII. p. 291.

in some other schools, could make that impression which it is their professed object to make, there would be no difficulty in governing any number of boys. The magnitude of the truths impressed on them, and the solemn sanctions under which they are delivered, would secure obedience to the commands of a parent, and to those of a master who is chosen by the parent as his representative. But this is not the way in which the moral government of the world is carried on, either as regards men or boys. The acts of a large part of mankind depend in a very small degree on their belief either in moral or religious truths; and this is a fact in the constitution of things which we can neither help, nor safely neglect: it is our business to look to things as they are and as they must be, not to fashion a system of our own, and expect the constitution of things to conform to it. If men have not been trained to act habitually right, there is not much chance of their acting right when a powerful influence towards acting wrong is present to them. The knowledge of what is right must be first taught by seeing others act right, and by being practised to do the same. The whole of the reasons for acting in this or that way lie not within the compass of a child's understanding, hardly within that of a man, certainly not within the compass of the understandings of the majority of men. But as the understanding of a child is gradually formed, the reasons for acting in this or that way begin to show themselves to the mind, even if no very great pains are taken to explain them; and as the understanding grows stronger, the teacher can present by degrees to his pupil the reasons for particular lines of conduct, so far as the reasons can be given to a child. But till some habit is formed of acting in a given

way, no reasons for conduct can be of any use. Hence, with young children, the will of those who are about them must be the sole rule of conduct, and it cannot be otherwise. It is fortunate for children when those who give them their first lessons set a good example; when they compel the children to that line of conduct which experience and reflection have proved to be best for children; when they teach them by actual experience, that they must submit to the physical and moral laws which govern the world, and that these laws cannot be violated with impunity; when they present to them as motives their approbation or disapprobation, which for children up to a certain age must be the sole test of the right or wrong of their actions. This education, if begun at home, would render the school education comparatively easy; but, unfortunately, youths are often sent to school in that state which renders their subsequent education frequently difficult, and sometimes impossible.

Still we may consider what school education should aim at, what it should attempt to do, if it cannot do it altogether; for the attempt itself to remove difficulties often opens to us unexpected means of accomplishing our purpose. It is the main business of a school education to form a youth for his future social duties as a citizen. To this end the body should be trained, by regulated exercise and wholesome diet, to discharge all the functions which are essential to health and to the development of the intellect; in which two conditions consist the elements of happiness, and without which happiness cannot be. The understanding is to be formed also by exercise, proportioned to its strength, and adapted to make it stronger: it should not be fatigued by more labour than it can bear, nor allowed to

become torpid for want of due excitement and exercise. The passions must be taught to submit to the judgment, and the pupil must learn, that, if he wishes to govern others (and he will wish to govern others, in conformity to the very nature of his existence), his first achievement must be to govern himself. "He that has not a mastery over his inclinations, he that knows not how to resist the importunity of present pleasure or pain for the sake of what reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true principle of virtue and industry, and is in danger never to be good for anything. This temper, therefore, so contrary to unguided nature, is to be got betimes; and this habit, as the true foundation of future ability and happiness, is to be wrought into the mind as early as may be, even from the first dawnings of knowledge or apprehension in children, and so to be confirmed in them by all the care and ways imaginable, by those who have the oversight of their education*." In the power of self-control, then, consists the main difference between the virtuous and the vicious man: their desires must often be the same; but the one can resist, the other must always yield.

These are commonplace truths, it may be said, generally admitted, and generally acted upon. But some truths, whether commonplace or not, need to be continually repeated, to be presented under various aspects, to be enforced in various ways. No truths run so much risk of being little regarded as those which are universally admitted; though, for this very reason, that they are universally admitted, they are more important than any other truths, however great, which may be a matter of dispute. Thus, many religious truths, which are

* Locke on Education.

matter of dispute among religious sects, though of the highest importance in one point of view, are, in another point of view, of less importance than other truths, not religious, on which they are agreed. Truths on which all are agreed may influence the practice of all; but truths in dispute, though efficacious in the conduct of those who hold them, lose half their force from the opposition of those who hold them not.

But it is not a fact that these fundamental truths in education are generally acted on. In many schools of high note, there is no object, real or professed, but to teach boys some Latin and Greek, with a few other branches of knowledge, very imperfectly; and even in these schools, it is not unusual for the boys of promising ability to receive the chief attention in preference to those of less ability who require it more. The chief object is to train the cleverest boys to gain the dazzling honours of University prizes and distinctions, and to rest the reputation of the school on this narrow and worthless basis.

When a number of boys, of various ages, are placed under a master to be educated, we may consider them, for the time, as detached from their domestic relations, and as entering into a new social circle. We suppose the boys to board with a master, to live in his house as his family; we suppose them, in fact, under those circumstances which are most favourable for the exercise of all the master's influence; for it is obviously easier for a master to educate boys who live with him altogether, than to educate boys who only come to him during certain hours of the day for instruction. Parents transfer the education of their children to others whose profession it is to educate: parents themselves, who are

not teachers, have generally other occupations, which take up all their time, and those who are rich are seldom able or willing to superintend their children's education. They accordingly send their children to boarding-schools; and it is in these establishments that the influence of education is the greatest either for good or for harm.

Now, when a master undertakes to educate boys, he undertakes to govern and instruct a number of individuals, who have been brought up at home in a variety of ways, some with bad habits, some with good, but all with some peculiarities or propensities which require vigilant superintendence and frequent correction. Such an undertaking involves numerous difficulties, which can only be overcome by a man sincerely bent on the discharge of his duty, and well prepared for it by the possession of good sense, self-command, and an adequate amount of experience and knowledge. Were a master at once to take under his charge a hundred boys, total strangers to him and to one another, the difficulty of the task would be much increased: but it generally happens that he begins with a small number, if he forms a private school, and slowly increases it; so that the accession of new comers is gradual, and he has time to study their characters without much impediment to his regular occupation. If he enters on the charge of an endowed school, he at once undertakes the management of a large number of boys strangers to him, but not strangers to one another.

Most people who have been at any large school, especially a boarding-school, will recollect the feelings which they experienced on leaving home, and being thrown into a completely new society. Few events in life leave

a stronger impression, and none are more important for the consequences. From the day that a youth enters this new circle, his thoughts and actions become unavoidably affected by the thoughts and actions of others; it is, in fact, the beginning of his career as a member of society. He has exchanged the narrow circle of his family for a wider circle, which gradually embraces all the relations of social life. On entering the new society, he is like a stranger who enters a foreign country; he cannot do as he pleases, or as he is accustomed to do; but he must conform to that which he finds established. His words, his thoughts, his actions, in a few days, partake of the general tone, and the individual character is lost in that of the mass. And yet each individual, while he appears to be blended with the whole body, communicates to it something of his own; and sometimes, when he is gifted with more than usual vigour of character, or with propensities more vicious than common, the influence of one youth on the society which he enters is soon felt, but not always soon enough discovered.* The character of this new society which the boys enter, and the character of each boy that enters it, are two elements which require constant attention.

Boys, it is said, when they get together in numbers, will form a society of their own, and rules by which it is governed: they will fix a standard of morality, that is, some among them will become the creators of rules and customs, which the rest will follow from choice or compulsion. Such being admitted to be the case, must we leave them altogether to themselves? or impose abso-

* This is a subject of great importance, as we know from the evidence of several medical men.

lute rules for the whole regulation of their conduct towards the master and towards each other? or must we allow them to make regulations for their own internal government under certain limitations? The first of the three plans is the case in some private schools, as we know by experience: schools in which the attention of the master does not go beyond the bare instruction of the boys during school-hours. For these schools there are no terms of reprobation sufficiently strong. A boy who is sent into a prison to mix with rogues and vagabonds of all ages, does not come out of his prison more corrupt and impure than many weak and silly boys do from those boarding-schools, where the master's care is limited to the hours of school instruction. In such schools, if there is an usher whose business it is to keep the boys out of mischief during play-hours, it often happens that this only aggravates the evil. A master, careless of his most important duties, transfers to an ignorant man, whose wages are less than those of a footman, and whom he treats with undisguised contempt, the care of his boys during those hours when they require more than usual superintendence. This wretched state of numerous private boarding-schools of an inferior class requires a separate consideration.

The relationship of a master or masters to pupils refers to three divisions of time, which occupy the twenty-four hours: the hours of instruction, the hours of relaxation and exercise, the hours of sleep. The master's duties extend over all these three divisions, and his superintendence is not more important in one than in any other. But these three divisions of time point also to divisions of a different kind—a division or classification of pupils mainly according to age. As far as we know,

this classification is seldom made in England but for one purpose, for which it is obviously necessary, that of teaching, or that which has reference to the hours of instruction. Boys of pretty nearly the same age, and of acquirements not varying very greatly, form the respective classes. If education were organized in this country by reflecting heads, a classification of pupils would be made also with respect to the hours of exercise or recreation and sleep. On this proper classification depends the whole good government of a school of large numbers: without it, there may be government of some description, such government as we see in many schools, but differing as much from the good government of a school as a country in a state of anarchy differs from a well-ordered political community.

The difference in age which is found in the pupils of a large school is then the main principle of the classification. For the purposes of school instruction, the younger boys are formed into separate classes, are engaged on more elementary parts of their studies, and require more help and more superintendence than the elder boys. The school instruction of the younger classes is the most important part of the whole school instruction; for if this is sound and rational, it renders what follows comparatively easy and pleasant; and while a boy is approaching the upper classes, and attaining to the strength and understanding of manhood, he is at the same time forming habits of application, and beginning to perceive that he must now depend on his own industry for his acquirements. Thus with regard to school learning, as the boy advances in the school, he is more and more left to himself, which is not only necessary where there is a great number of boys, but

also a proper thing when he has gone through such a training as qualifies him for this state of comparative liberty.

But are there not more weighty reasons for exercising a vigilant control over the younger boys, out of the hours of school instruction, than during them? During the school hours their attention is occupied by their business: out of school hours, their attention is no longer thus engaged, and for this reason they require more looking after. It is a fortunate thing, that in many of our large schools, a great variety of games and athletic exercises have been long established by custom: they are the great means of government out of school hours, in the absence of other government. A master should encourage all exercises of the kind, for the double purpose of strengthening the body, and giving occupation to a portion of the twenty-four hours, which, if not spent in this way, may probably be very ill disposed of. But the exercises in a school, and especially those of all the younger boys, should be regulated by a master who has some knowledge of the best kind of exercises, who could show a greater variety than are known in our ordinary schools, and who could control and regulate them when either of an injurious character, or when carried to excess. Such a master we conceive to be an essential part of the establishment of a large school, in which the training of the body by suitable, and, we will add, systematic exercises, is as essential as the school learning, and, in our opinion, in which we may be singular, it is worth more. A variety of wholesome and proper exercises, taken within due limits, is absolutely necessary to strengthen the body and make it healthy; these exercises are of different kinds, suited to different

ages and different constitutions, and in the case of all the younger boys, they cannot safely be carried on without some superintendence. Even the older boys will in some cases find it advantageous to take the advice of one who has made gymnastic his study. If boys of the same age, or nearly the same age, are united in their games, there will be no great risk of the few, who may be larger and stronger than the rest, tyrannising over the weaker: the presence of the master, who would always be somewhere near during the play hours, would be a sufficient check to any tendency of this kind, and his own example would be an example to all the rest. For we assume that the master of gymnastic would never use any kind of force to those who are either unable or unwilling to join in the games of their fellows; and that, in giving them any instruction in any new kind of exercise, he would not find it necessary to use either harsh words or blows. The whole time out of school hours should be as strictly regulated as the hours of school instruction; all games and exercises should be carried on freely, and without restraint —but within the limits and rules laid down by the exercise-master, whose authority, out of school hours, should be as large and complete as that of the head master in the school hours.

We must insist still more on the proper conduct of the games and exercises of a school, because they may be made, and ought to be made, the basis of the whole moral discipline. Though much neglected in most private schools in England, the importance of this part of education is beginning to be felt; and we hope that some of our medical writers who have paid attention to the subject, may soon give it that complete examination which none but a physician can do. An able writer has already

pointed out the numerous and complicated evils which result from the want of exercise in female schools. Boys, fortunately, get a much larger amount of exercise; but it is often carried to excess, and for some constitutions is of too violent a nature and also of a wrong description.* Boys require different kinds of exercise for the purpose of developing the different parts of the body: and such exercises, if well directed, will correct many little defects and weaknesses to which boys are subject. We are persuaded that boys at school often suffer permanently from the injudicious nature or excess of some of their amusements. Still the taste for these exercises exists in this country, and they are, even without direction, productive of great good, but might, we think, be conducted better by the whole school being placed, as to its exercises and games, under the superintendence of a master or officer; and indeed, as we have already remarked, it is more necessary, in our opinion, for this superintendence to be exercised out of the hours of instruction than during them. As the elder boys, with respect to school instruction, are gradually withdrawn from the more particular superintendence of the masters, so we would allow the older boys more freedom during the hours of relaxation, but not a total freedom from superintendence. If they have been well trained, they will have no wish to save themselves a little trouble by requiring the services of younger boys during the play hours, as is the case where fagging is in fashion; nor will the idea ever enter their heads that they may turn the young boys into ministers to their own amusement. If the younger boys are carefully brought up without submit-

* See some judicious remarks on over-exercise in the work of Dr. Combe, reviewed in this Journal, No. XVI.

ting to the commands of their elders, they will have no inclination, when they grow older, to call for the services of their juniors.

The fault of most large schools of which we know anything, is not the severity of the discipline, but the want of discipline and order. It is not strict discipline in an army to allow drunkenness, or any other irregularity, to go unpunished, if not carried beyond a certain point, but when it goes beyond this point to visit it with a cruel punishment. Strict discipline does not allow the opportunity of committing the fault; and with this object its ordinary regulations are stricter than in an army, where faults are only punished when they attain a certain magnitude. In addition to a completely organized system of discipline out of school-hours, we would wish it to be well considered how far the services of servants should be allowed to boys. We would allow them no further than is absolutely necessary for attendance on their meals, and keeping the beds and the bed-rooms in order. Every boy should be taught to do many little offices for himself, not to expect them from a servant, much less from another boy, certainly not from a boy younger than himself, who rather requires assistance than is in a capacty to give it. Our correspondent (Letter, p. 290) says, " that many a man who went from Winchester to serve in the Peninsula during the last war, must have found his school experience and habits no bad preparation, not only as to power of endurance, but in the helpfulness and independence gained during his training as a junior." But many officers who never had the advantage of being *fagged* in youth behaved as well as any Winchester boys, of whom it is here said, that the school-fagging *must* have been to them a useful preparation for a campaign.

But it is quite as easy and quite as fair to say, that the fagging *must* have been a bad preparation. A regular systematic discipline, as strict as that of a good military academy, would have been a much better preparation for the campaigns of these Winchester boys. But how many delicate youths have suffered severely from fagging at public schools, have had their health injured, and their spirits broken? We should have a list of them, as well as of the heroes of the Peninsula.

If school discipline is intended to accomplish any good purpose, it must be framed by a competent head. It must proceed from the sovereign authority in the school, that is, the head master, or those who delegate their trust to the head master. But as the sovereign power in a state cannot be entirely exercised by the sovereign, but must be delegated to various subordinate authorities, so, in a school, authority must be delegated by the head master to those who are under him, and sufficient authority for all the purposes contemplated in the scheme of division of labour. The simple question, then, is, can any portion of this power be delegated * beneficially to the older boys, or to the higher classes in a school? for it is on this view of the nature of the power exercised by the higher over the lower boys, that what is called fagging is defended by "A Wykhamist," and maintained to be good. It is not true that this is the state of the case; but let us see what must be the consequences if a certain power, it matters not how

* See Letter, Journal, No. XVIII., p. 286. The "power of fagging" is there defined to be "a power given by the supreme authorities of a school to the boys of the highest class or classes in it, to be exercised by them over the lower boys, for the sake of securing the advantages of regular government amongst the boys themselves, and avoiding the evils of anarchy—in other words, of the lawless tyranny of physical strength."

much, be delegated to the older boys, or more advanced boys in the school, over those who are younger or less advanced in their studies.

The power thus delegated may be either expressly delegated, or it may be tacitly delegated, in accordance with certain positive rules existing in the school, which have grown up entirely among the boys, and have been transmitted from one generation to another. On the former supposition the master makes the law, and the older boys are merely the administrators of it, and, as such, ought to be, and perhaps may be, made responsible to the lawgiver; they become, in this case, for certain purposes, a kind of assistants to the master. On the latter supposition, a master, on being appointed to a school, adopts the custom which he finds existing, and thus gives it the force of a law. If a new master, on entering a school, tacitly allows any custom among the boys, be it good or bad, to exist without his express sanction, he admits the principle of allowing boys to make rules for their own conduct and government. And this is the general practice as to fagging. Of the remote origin of the custom we say nothing: it may have originally proceeded from a master, or it may have grown up among the boys; the latter is probably the true account of the matter. Now, the object of a school is, that boys should receive all those regulations which are to be imperative rules of conduct from the master, who is supposed to be wiser and better than they are, and it cannot be safely left to boys to make any one rule of any kind that shall be in force without receiving the express sanction of their master. The rules which boys would make among themselves, if they had full liberty to make rules, would be such as would be

subversive of all order and decorum. It may be said that no rule established among the boys would be tacitly sanctioned by a judicious master, if it were a rule that had a decidedly bad tendency. But here we are on the question at issue; the master does tacitly assent to the authority of older over younger boys; he says the rule is a good one, and we say it is bad. But why allow a rule or custom to exist by tacit permission about which there can be two contrary opinions? Let it be known generally that you say the rule is good and wholesome, and you will have established at least one good rule in doing so, that of allowing no customs to be in force in the school without your declared sanction. Customs, if such there be, that cannot receive your declared sanction, will thus want the authority that alone can give them weight, and will probably die away, as being clearly against what you declare to be proper. A master who is in favour of fagging, and expressly by words, or acts equivalent to words, gives it his full sanction, may be doing a very bad thing, but still he does it in a proper way. All that we can say of him is, that he has organized a bad scheme of discipline. A master who may be said to tolerate fagging, to wink at it, deserves severe censure.

But suppose the power to be expressly delegated, you cannot then well escape defining it. To expressly delegate to older boys a power over younger boys, and not say exactly what it is to be, and not to see that it is never exceeded, would be to delegate a power greater than that which you give to your masters. And yet you do not suppose that the older boys are so competent to govern younger boys, in any respect, as those who are expressly chosen to educate and instruct the younger boys.

And if you define the authority of the older over the younger boys, what shall it be? how much, and to what end? If it were to help, to instruct, to advise, to keep out of harm's way, the end would be good, and one could only complain that the means were not the best chosen. To do all these things is the business of teachers, who are, or ought to be, better qualified for it than boys. If not for these ends, for what ends will you delegate power to older over younger boys? to save the older boys some little trouble which they ought to have been taught not to regard, to make the younger supply the place of a servant, or to do any one act of any kind at the bidding of the older boys? But your older boy, if his native goodness of disposition is not already half spoiled by previous servitude, wants not the services of the younger: he can do all he wants for himself. What full-grown man, who deserves the name of gentleman, is always summoning a servant for every little office that he wants? The only relationship which should exist between the older and younger boys of a school should be exactly of the opposite kind to that which is inherent in a system of fagging. In the good example of the older boys, in their obedience to the rules of the school, in the friendly and confidential communications between these boys and their immediate instructors, in their willingness to assist a younger boy when occasion offers, the younger should see an example for their imitation, and an object of noble ambition. If the relationship is of a different kind, if it consists in a power given expressly or tacitly to the older to claim certain services from the younger, the result will be altogether different. It will satisfy nobody, whether he knows the actual state of a public school or

not, to be told that this authorized and legalized power is the best security to the young against oppression, to be told that the power is not often abused, and that the young boy suffers less under the legalized system of fagging than if there were no legalized system. The facts are not so in all schools where there is fagging: they are not so at the present moment, and hundreds know this to be the case, and will assert it as strong as ever, whatever may be said on the other side. And who that knows what all boys must be, and what many masters are, places any confidence in this as a correct picture of the case? When power is exercised with no more responsibility than that which is stated by "A Wykhamist," it is certain that frequent and gross abuse of it must occur, just as it is certain that when a man is in the habit of inflicting blows on another, they will often be dealt out for imaginary faults, and be only the indication that the blow-giver is under the influence of passion, and not that the blow-receiver deserves punishment, or will be the better for it. We are told on good authority, and we believe it, that in one of our public schools at present (for our direct evidence goes no further than to one school as to this one point), not only is the junior subject to the commands of some one of the head boys, but that when not actually employed by his master, any senior boy who chooses may call upon him for a bit of extra work; and in that capacity the junior does pretty nearly as much work for others as for his own particular master: nor will his master save him from any thrashing or ill-usage from a senior boy, when he (the junior) is not employed in his particular master's service. In addition to this, there are certain hours in the day when certain fags are a kind of servants

of all work for the general benefit of the school; and this remark specially applies to the hours when the boys on the foundation are shut up at night. At this time the fags receive the orders from their superiors who may want such things as pies, meat, porter, &c. The fags carry the numerous messages to the door, which is locked, on the outside of which stands a servant, who receives all the orders and brings what is wanted from the cook-shop or other place. This service may seem a small matter on the part of the juniors, and, as our correspondent would say, contributes to give them a certain "helpfulness and independence;" but when we consider the number and variety of the orders, the danger of confounding some or forgetting others, with the additional risk of the servant on the outside making some blunder, and that the fags are liable to be thrashed, and most certainly are thrashed, if all the good things, of which they have no chance of partaking, do not come duly to hand—it will appear that this is really a hard and odious servitude. But it would be endless to describe all the confusion, bullying, and tyranny, that are the necessary consequence of a large number of boys of various ages being all shut up in one room without the superintendence of a master.

Still the great objection to the fagging system is not the services required of the juniors, nor the abuse of the power which the elders exercise: we are led to the consideration of the main objection by what we have just stated; and the main objection is briefly this: The system brings the older and the junior boys too much in contact, considering the difference of age and of physical and intellectual development. This truth, which is of the highest importance, is admitted to a certain extent

by the regulations of some private schools in England, but more so in some on the continent. We shall briefly explain this matter: various considerations (some of them incident to the present state of society) prevent a complete exposition in this place.

The relationship between men and boys must not be confounded with that between older and younger boys. Men have learned by experience that they must regard public opinion, and, if they cannot entirely govern their passions, they feel the necessity, at least, of concealing their actions, and of using caution in their expressions, not only before men, but more particularly before boys, who are quick to observe and ready to report. Boys do not observe the same decencies towards one another when they are thrown together in large numbers: their actions and their words are often without reserve: their society is not the world, but a small part of it; they know that they are not men, nor subject to the strict rules of man's society: a certain degree of licence will prevail among them in the best regulated schools. Now as to many matters, we can readily admit that if boys were all mixed together, and allowed to form their system of morality, some good principles might be established. Lying, for instance, might (except in certain cases, allowed by the positive morality of the school) be generally despised, a feeling of courage might be generally diffused, and other similar qualities, though in no case do we admit that these principles would be free from considerable alloy, if the boys were entirely left to themselves; and the reasons for these principles would not be the right ones. But as to other matters, we should have different principles established among the

boys, and some of a pernicious character. The nature of the sexual relations is a subject that occupies the youthful mind from very early years, and is a never-failing topic of curiosity and inquiry. In schools this curiosity is encouraged and stimulated by the union of a number of boys; and especially, if those of a tender age are much with those who are older, are they exposed to this evil. The common results of this promiscuous intercourse, which are obscene language, coarse jests, and other things of the kind, are not the chief evil consequences: a prurient disposition is often formed at an early age, which becomes a source of great trouble to the person himself and to many others too. For this, among other reasons, the intercourse between the older and younger boys should be very much restricted during the play hours, but during the hours of sleep it should be absolutely prevented. Every school is a dangerous place in which a number of boys are put in the same room at night without a proper superintendent. But what must we say of those public schools where forty or fifty or more boys, of all ages, are shut up all night in a large room without any superintendence of any kind? Does it require a particular acquaintance with this or that school in order to enable us to say that the consequences must be pernicious, that the boundaries of decency are often violated, that the passions are stimulated by indecent stories and other means to a high degree, long before the physical development of the body would have made the sexual passion really felt? It is not necessary to know such places to say that such must be the consequences; but should it be said that a person is not qualified to write on such a subject without this

peculiar information, then we add that we *know* that such are the consequences of this impure and disgraceful system.

We still hope that those who are better qualified to treat this branch of the subject will not, from false delicacy, shrink from the task. Facts are abundantly known to some physicians who have had extensive opportunities of attending to certain mental disorders, the consequences of certain physical derangements; and no nobler object could be proposed to them than to show how those passions, which, when under due control, contribute so largely to human happiness, may not become, through the inattention and ignorance of the guardians of youth, the poison and the bane of their existence. The fundamental principle of correction, as to this matter, is the superintendence of the boys both by day and night, and the total separation of the younger from the elder in the sleeping-rooms. Many considerations besides these would be required to develope this matter fully; but in the active, systematic exercises of the gymnastic, and the strict, yet not severe, discipline of the school, the means for carrying out this principle would be found. A daily proper portion of bodily fatigue is the antidote to all wandering of the thoughts and dwelling on improper objects. In our schools many healthy boys take exercise enough of their own accord, and would often be better for taking less; but there are always some who are little inclined to indulge in athletic exercises, and these are they who specially require the encouragement and the direction of the master of gymnastic. A weakly and sickly frame is more liable to some of the evils at which we have hinted than a robust

and muscular body. The value of gymnastic in such cases cannot be estimated too highly.

We have said that the fagging system brings the older and younger boys too much into contact; to which it may be objected, that the fagging system has a tendency to separate the older from the younger boys: and this objection is a truth, but let us see if it consists with what we have said. The fagging system does separate boys into distinct classes; it does separate older from younger boys. The older boys have a circle of enjoyments peculiarly their own: within this circle there is no sympathy of any kind between the senior and the junior boys. The junior boys are not qualified by age, or in any other way, to participate either in the proper amusements and pleasures of the older boys, or in the improper amusements and pleasures of these boys. This, then, is a good reason why they should, to a great degree, be kept apart from them. But by the fagging system the junior boys are brought into contact with the senior boys, not as participators in their pleasures, but as ministers to their pleasures, their wants, and their caprices: they are brought into contact with them exactly under the circumstances which are most disadvantageous to both parties. The nature of this relationship (supposing the senior to abuse his power and to set a bad example, which no person can deny does often occur) is not unlike the relationship between a dissolute man and his servant. The bad master and the man are, we all know, as much separated as any two beings can be in one point of view; while in another point of view they are brought into very close contact. There are no sympathies common to the two which tend to improve either: there are abundance of

acts, of words, on the part of the master, witnessed by the servant, which tend directly to corrupt him. Were there no fagging in schools, and were the intercourse between boys, differing considerably in age, limited to that which it would be by the very nature of a good system, the intercourse between the older and younger boys would, we think, as a consequence, be of that kind which would exercise all their best sympathies; it would be sufficient for that purpose, and nothing more. In many of our schools where fagging exists, we have no doubt that many older boys do behave well to their fags, and do not take any improper advantage of their power: many masters also set a good example to their servants, use them well, and by their words and actions exercise a beneficial influence over them. An older boy, under the fagging system, may in some instances do the same towards a junior; but while we admit the possibility of this, we beg to observe that the analogy between master and fag, and master and servant, which we have pointed out as existing in a certain case, is not one that must be insisted on to any great extent, either for or against the system of fagging. In the case which we have taken, it seems to us to hold, so far as the influence of bad example goes. As to the abuse of power by the master, the servant can free himself from that, by taking his leave. In the case of the fag, the remedy is not so clear; and that the power of a senior over a junior is liable to abuse, and that it is not unfrequently abused, will, we think, be admitted even by the boys in our public schools. And how can this be otherwise, especially in those endowed schools where so many boys of different ages are so much thrown together, and shut up in the same room for so large a part of the twenty-four

hours? In these rooms, fagging probably had its origin, and no place so well calculated for the production of this kind of government.

Let us now see on what the supposed necessity of the fagging system, as explained by our correspondent, rests.

Boys (see "Letter of a Wykhamist," p. 287) in English boarding schools, "for nearly nine months of the year, live with one another in a distinct society:" "at their studies and at their amusements, by day and by night, they are members of one and the same society, in closer local neighbourhood with one another than is the case with the ordinary society of grown men:" "for this their habitual living they require a government." Doubtless they do require a government, and a good government: the question is, What shall it be? "It is idle," says our correspondent, "to say that masters form, or can form this government; it is impossible to have a sufficient number of masters for the purpose; for in order to obtain the advantages of home government, the boys should be as much divided as they are at their respective homes." It certainly is idle to say that masters in this country do, as a general rule, form the government; it is perhaps equally idle to say that they can form it, for they have generally neither the inclination nor the kind of knowledge, nor the habits that are necessary to enable them to form a good school government. But *why* cannot masters form this government? The reasons are curious.—(See Letter, p. 287.)—The object of a school, it is assumed, is to obtain the advantages of home government: to obtain this, boys should be divided as much as they are at their respective homes; there should be no greater number of boys under one master than of

brothers commonly living under one parent: nay, there should be fewer, inasmuch as there is wanting the bond of natural affection which so greatly facilitates domestic government, and gives it its peculiar virtue: a father with thirty sons below the age of manhood and above childhood would find them difficult to govern; but it is more difficult for a master to govern thirty boys who have no natural bond to attach them either to him or to one another; and *hence*, for all these reasons, if you have a large boarding school, you cannot have it adequately governed without a system of fagging; and hence it is concluded, that a government among the boys being necessary, the actual constitution of public schools places it in the best possible hands. This government of boys, it is further said, like every other government, requires to be watched, or it will surely be guilty of abuses.

All this rests on the assertion, that boys in boarding schools form a distinct society; that by day and by night they are all in a close local neighbourhood to one another; and that this must be the case. On that circumstance in the constitution of nearly all large boarding schools, which most reflecting men believe to be the radical evil in such schools, is grounded the defence of all the evil consequences which flow from it. But boys must not be allowed to form a distinct society of their own: they are not sent to school to form a society for themselves; they are sent to live in a society framed and governed by the intelligence and virtue of a man whose profession it is to train boys. Boys are sent to school, among other purposes, to be instructed in the knowledge of social life, not a social life founded on their own notions, but one which shall be a fit introduc-

tion to the social state of manhood. It is next assumed that "the advantage of home government is the object to be obtained at school;" but it cannot be obtained, and therefore the advantage of home government must be abandoned. There is then no reason, as far as we can see, for sending boys to boarding schools at all, for we do not choose to admit that the bare instruction itself is an object worth obtaining at the cost of the "advantage of the home government," supposed by our correspondent to be the best government. But it is generally supposed—and though the supposition is not always a practical reality, it is on this supposition that boarding schools were founded, and to the existence of this supposition they owe their continuance—it is generally supposed, we say, that school government is better than home government, and for this among other reasons boys are sent to boarding schools. And this supposition appears to us, on the whole, to be founded in truth: First, many parents have not time to give to their children that attention which they require, many have little inclination, many more are totally unfit for governing their children well, from defect of temper, education, and numerous other causes;* they therefore send them to a man who makes it his profession to undertake to do what most parents cannot do. Secondly, it is known that boys must some time enter on life, and that it is better that this entry be preceded by a proper state of preparation than by none at all, or by an incomplete preparation; and there is no preparation for boys so

* See Bishop Butler's Sermon, preached at Christ Church, London—"Consider next the manner, &c." Various parts of this admirable discourse have a bearing on various parts of the question discussed in this article.

good as to grow up among those of the same age, but not solely of the same family, provided all the society thus arising is framed and governed by a man who has made the government of boys his study. Again, the absurdity of the proposition is pushed so far by our correspondent, that he asserts, in order to obtain this supposed advantage of home government, that the number of boys under a master should be less than the number of brothers commonly living under one parent —that is, less than two. For the number of boys commonly living under one parent, to take the phrase in any sense that is consistent with a meaning, is not much above two upon the average of marriages in one of the most prolific countries in the world (Belgium); and if we take into the account the difference of age in boys of one family and the consequent departure of some of the boys from the paternal roof, while the others are still young, it is clear that some of the male children may have all the advantage of this home government to themselves, and in many families must have it all to themselves; that is, a boy must often be brought up alone, which no person will call a good bringing up. Further, "a father with thirty sons," or, we will say, a much less number, "all below the age of manhood and above childhood, would find it no easy task to govern them effectually." We are not much inclined to undertake any discussion with those who first assume an impossible case, and then take the benefit of the argument in applying it to a possible case. A man with thirty children below the age of manhood must evidently have several wives, and it is probable that this circumstance would considerably increase the difficulty of governing his family, unless he adopted our principle of division

and classification in his household; and even then he could not be always in all places at once. But suppose a man to have thirty children, and all his wives to be very obedient, and do their best to assist him in keeping good order, there is still a difference between him and the schoolmaster. The man with thirty children will have a profession or occupation of some kind; whatever it may be, we suppose his profession not to be that of training children: the schoolmaster's profession is to train children. Why cannot the schoolmaster do that which it is his profession to do, because the father cannot do that which it is not his profession to do? The father, if his only profession was to have thirty children, and to educate them, might, if he were a sensible man, do the thing very well. Much stress cannot be fairly laid on isolated cases within individual experience; but still, even in the present state of domestic discipline, is it a fact that large families are generally worse governed than small families? or is it a fact that a single child, or a couple of children generally turn out better than a large family? We doubt if this can be affirmed. It is a common remark that brothers do not agree very well at home; and whether the fault be in their parents, or wherever it lies, as things are at present, it is a common and a just complaint. Would not any schoolmaster rather have thirty boys, all of different families to govern, than thirty brothers from one family? In addition to all this, many single masters do govern thirty boys, and govern them on the whole very well, without blows, without harsh treatment, and on the whole with successful results. There is a school near London, consisting of about one hundred and thirty boys, taken from the worst part of society, young thieves and vaga-

bonds, who are well governed by one man with an assistant: no system of fagging, legalized or winked at, exists here; no blows are given; but strict discipline is enforced, and kind words and behaviour are the reward of those who merit them. The appearance and manner of many of these boys are much superior to what we see in our inferior boarding schools. Cannot that be done in boarding schools, where the boys are generally of decent families, and pay a large sum for their education, which is done in a school where the boys have been corrupted before they come, and the means of which are limited to a few private subscriptions? In this school for vagrants (at Hackney Wick, near London) the boys are employed in labour for the greater part of the day: the corresponding thing for a large school is systematic exercise.

Lastly, "this government of the boys," which is contended for, "like every other government, requires to be watched, or it will surely be guilty of abuses." This is a truth that we might guess without knowing practically what fagging is in schools; but there is an exception to the remark,—the government of the master does not require to be watched by the master, as the government of the boys requires to be watched by the master, and in this consists its superiority. But is this government of the boys watched in the way that it ought to be in schools? Is it likely that, where a master has a government of this description, established by long usage, and which saves him a great deal of labour out of school hours, he will take the trouble of superintending and watching this government, to do which effectually would be as much trouble as to govern on what we conceive to be right principles—a kind of government we fully admit, that will impose more labour on the master out

of school hours, than most masters at present undertake? The explanation of the mode in which this government of the boys works, as given by a correspondent, (Letter of a Wykhamist, pp. 287, 288,) is certainly a favourable view of it, and we admit fully that a system of fagging, as he there explains it, is a very different thing from a system of fagging as generally understood. But unfortunately it is a very different thing from a system of fagging as it exists. We do not mean to question the accuracy of the statement there made, as applicable to the school (not there named) to which we suppose our correspondent to refer; but we cannot consent to let this stand as a fair description of what is done in some other schools, in which the real working of the boys' government is very different from that described in the Letter of a Wykhamist, (p. 287,) and which many who will read these remarks know to be characterized by those brutal features which a wise, a benevolent, a conscientious master certainly could soften down, even without destroying the general character of the system itself.

We know that it will still be urged by many masters that it is impossible to govern a large number of boys in the way that we have recommended; but we are not aware that any sound objection can be made to it, except the number of masters that will be required. That this is not really felt to be an insuperable difficulty, we infer from the mode in which our correspondent has attempted to prove that it is so; we presume that the arguments urged on this head are the best that the case admits, and we leave it to any person's calm consideration to give them all the weight that they deserve. But the principle of a proper classification of pupils will much diminish the difficulty, if any still remains; and after

all, suppose two additional masters, beyond the number now employed, are required for every hundred boys in a large school, is this any real obstacle? Are not the terms of these schools high enough to allow the additional expense, or even a much larger one? When 80*l*., 90*l*., or 100*l*. are paid in schools containing 100 or 200 boys, surely a total income of 10,000 to 20,000*l*. per annum is enough to furnish every kind of instruction and superintendence that could be required. The 500 boys of Eton do not, on an average, pay less than 100 guineas per annum each; surely an income of 50,000*l*. a-year is amply enough to provide a complete education for 500 boys; and the masters, after all, would find themselves carrying on a more lucrative trade than almost any other profession. If parents should begin to be convinced that something of the kind above suggested ought to be attempted, it may still be urged by the masters that their labour will be prodigiously increased, even if their staff is enlarged, and that their emoluments, as boarding-house keepers, may be somewhat diminished. More masters will undoubtedly be wanted, and all the masters will have their hands full: perhaps also they may not make quite so much money as they now do. They will not only have to teach in the school, but to be much with their pupils out of school: the wall of separation between teacher and pupil must be broken down. The teacher must learn, that as he exercises a vocation of higher importance than any in the community, a vocation that all good men honour and respect—one that parents will learn to estimate rightly when they see its duties discharged fully,—so he must submit to much labour, and must devote his life to live with those whom he educates. If

these conditions are too hard, let him abandon his occupation, or bring to it the zeal which ought to animate him who clothes himself with the respected title of the educator of youth, of those who in a few years will form the men of the country, and the strength or the weakness of a nation.*

It is to the endowed schools of this country that we ought to look for those models of discipline that shall be an example to other schools; and yet, at the present day, while we find a few private schools conforming to the general system of these endowed schools (which they do merely in the character of preparatory schools for them, and under a certain influence called patronage), we see the most respectable private schools, and some of the new proprietary schools, adopting altogether a different system. This total want of unity, this anarchy in education, can only be remedied by the state placing all these establishments on a new footing, and providing them with a set of men well educated and trained to the profession of schoolmaster. At present, it is a mere chance whether a man becomes a master of a school or something else: if he is a man of ability and of honest intentions, a long experience makes him a good master,

* Where the terms of a school are low, and the numbers small, parents must be content with the kind of education which it is in the master's power to bestow. Where the terms are high, and the numbers are few or many, all may be done that is right to be done. All parents would do well to encourage the formation of large schools on reasonable terms: such schools are the schools for the middling and less wealthy classes of the country. By the union of a number of boys in such schools, they may obtain all the advantages of the best education at a cheap rate; and in no other way. Small, cheap schools cannot be good: large, cheap schools may be good. See some remarks which we formerly made on this subject, in the Journal of Education, No. XV., "Military and Naval Education."

so far as the system will allow: if he is not, the consequences are the total failure of the school for the life of one man, which may include the school-lives of several successive generations of boys. We are not yet sanguine enough to hope that the state will very soon undertake the greatest of all its moral obligations; nor do we wish to see a general school-reform attempted till the matter has undergone still further discussion. At present there are many new and imperfectly digested notions abroad, which require time in order to fashion themselves into a shape adapted to practice. The present political condition of this country is very unfavourable to reform of our institutions of education; and the various causes of this unfavourable condition may be resolved into one single cause—too great liberty. The various members which compose the sovereign power have no unity of purpose, and this disunion in the sovereign power shows itself in all the various forms of delegated power, in all institutions of education of all kinds, in every religious sect, in every private establishment of education. The liberty which all these several members mean, when they talk of liberty, is, the liberty of doing as they please, that is, the liberty of frustrating the main ends of a political community. The universities claim the liberty of admitting into these places (so-called) of public instruction whom they please, and of shutting out whom they please; the established church wishes to have the liberty of educating all the poor in its own way; the trustees and masters of endowed schools claim the liberty of managing them as they think best; and the proprietors of private establishments would, taken in the mass, cry out against any wise measures which should compel them to edu-

cate themselves before they educate others.* When we look about us for the means of putting this chaos into order, of checking all these liberties which are only so many mutual aggressions, we find among the contending elements of disorder no one which is yet powerful enough to control the rest. In the United States much ignorance and many absurd notions still prevail, and the liberty we have talked of has been abundantly active in producing mischief; but there is still this important contrast between them and us—the unity of sovereign power in the separate states for the purposes of the state government. The people only require to know that a thing is good, and the opinion *may* immediately be made practical. In Prussia, a wise government determines what is best for the people in matters of education, and compels them, for their own good, to a certain line of conduct. In England, half a dozen powers contend for the mastery, among which it would be difficult to say which of them, just at present, might most safely be intrusted with the power of reforming education. If there is any hope at all of beneficial change, it is in the Commons' House, operated upon by a profound conviction among those who are commonly called the middle classes of society. To produce this conviction should be the aim of every man who values the happi-

* By this we mean that no teacher should be allowed to teach, without having undergone a previous examination and having received a certificate of competency. On this question there is much difference of opinion even among those who are in favour of a school reform; and the question is not without its difficulties. Many of the objections which we have seen made to this proposition arise from certain confused notions of the nature of the sovereign power in a state, which we have no disposition to confute here, or indeed anywhere else.

ness, the peace, the safety of this country,—of every man who believes that the education of youth is the most important part and the basis of all civil polity.

A subordinate part of our subject remains to be briefly noticed; the mode in which a master can ensure obedience to his laws. With a proper classification of pupils, and with masters trained to their business, the maintenance of discipline in the school would be an easy consequence of a good system. In the present state of schools, it must be a more difficult task. A government which subsists by violence and physical force, always causes more trouble to the governors than one in which the governors avail themselves of all the means of government which exist in the sympathies of our common nature.

It must be laid down as an unvarying rule, that a school not strictly under the rule of a master cannot be a good school; if the master cannot maintain his authority without blows, it is better that he should use blows than let his scholars be disobedient. It is also better that the punishment, whatever it may be, should be fixed and certain, in case of disobedience, than that it should vary with the caprice of one or more masters. Corporal punishment, or the infliction of bodily pain, is not the instrument of government in English schools only; it is the great means of government, though in different degrees, in political communities all over the world, and its frequent and indiscriminate application to offences seems to be pretty nearly in proportion to the state of barbarism in each country. Thus, in Turkey, the stick is, and still more was, the great instrument by which society was kept in order; and conformably to this high state principle, the stick is

the instrument with which a Mussulman schoolmaster rules the young disciples of Mohammed*. The adoption of so universal an instrument of rule must have its foundation in some principles of our nature as universal, and these principles are ignorance and laziness. The stick is an argument that is irresistible so long as it is wielded by a strong arm; it appeals to one feeling only, which all men have, and a very natural one too, a desire to avoid pain; it is encumbered with no complicated principles, which require reflection and analysis; it admits no motive short of it, and none beyond it; in fine, its arguments are irresistible when they can be enforced, and powerless when they cannot.

It is said, by a Wykehamist, that the idea of severe corporal punishment being ever now used in this country is a Blue Beard story, and that such assertions are ridiculous. In such matters it is always safer for a man to speak within the limits of his own knowledge, to say that in all the schools known to the objector there is no such thing, for other people have the same claim to credit when they assert the contrary. We say that corporal punishment in schools is often very severe; that blows, more than is good for the health, are often inflicted, and in large schools too, and we admit no claim of any one man to say that he knows the state of all the schools in England, when we know that his statements are not true of some schools known to us. But we contend that corporal punishment, to be of any use, must sometimes be severe; if not severe enough to frighten the boys into obedience, what is the use of it? If it is a proper thing in any case for a master to

* See Journal of Education, No. XVIII., p. 365, 'Foreign News.'

inflict a blow upon a boy, it is clear that blows should vary in force and number, according to the nature of the offence; and the offence being great, the blows ought to be many and hard. If this is not admitted, on what principle are blows to be inflicted? Surely not according to the mere caprice of the master. In arguing this question of flogging, we are supposing a *system* in which blows are the governing principle, for we conceive it impossible for any man to defend a system of flogging in which there is no system at all. We have always considered the systematic flogging of public schools (bating the indecency* of it) to be better than the capri-

* Those who know nothing of the English public schools, as they are termed, cannot well express their surprise when they hear for the first time the manner in which punishment is inflicted in these schools, and sometimes inflicted on boys of the age of seventeen or eighteen. We were not aware, till we set about making more particular inquiries, that the mode of inflicting this punishment varies considerably in our endowed schools. Nor did we know that it exists in some of very little note and reputation: in these schools, as we might expect, it appears in its worst form. In some schools the punishment is always inflicted in public before the school, which appears to be the least objectionable plan. The boy, who is to be flogged, looses his breeches, and the master pulls out the shirt so as to expose the lower part of the back, on which he operates with a birch rod. In some other schools it is generally done in private, and it is probably in that case more severe and less decent. But in such schools it is sometimes done in public also, when the nature of the case seems to require it. A friend informs us, that during the time he was at the Charter House, some years ago, a boy in the sixth form, and eighteen years of age, was required to loose his breeches *in medio*, that is, before the whole school, preparatory to being flogged. In some schools the posteriors are completely exposed during the ceremony of whipping, and this before the eyes of all. It is difficult to say what custom will not reconcile us to: there can be no doubt that this indecent exposure, which would shock one not used to it, produces little or no effect where it prevails.

The consequence of disobedience to an order for loosing the breeches would be expulsion, and, under the circumstances, a proper consequence; for we admit, as readily as any of our opponents may contend for it, the absolute necessity of the boys

cious punishment which many persons, and ourselves amongst the rest, have seen at a private school. A passionate man, and many schoolmasters are such, who has no regular system of flogging, will pinch ears, kick at the legs, pull the hair violently, and use very abusive terms: such instances of ungoverned ill-temper and brutal behaviour are not uncommon, and we speak within our own knowledge of having seen, not very long ago, such scenes, and of knowing that they are still common in schools, particularly in the north of England. An ignorant man, whom accident has made a schoolmaster, must govern by force, and the only bounds to his intemperate passions are actual fear of his pupils, before the stoutest and boldest of whom these unworthy instructors of youth have not unfrequently shrunk from their purpose.

Such a system of capricious punishment no one can defend, and we should not act an ingenuous part if we were to attempt to impute any approbation of such a system to our correspondent, though the vagueness of the manner in which he has defended the giving of blows, without clearly stating under what restrictions, lays him open to the charge of approving of blows any how inflicted, and for any kind of offence. But he who defends the infliction of blows should state for what kind of offences he would give blows, and how they should be inflicted. We can hardly imagine any person maintaining that a boy should be punished because he cannot learn something which he has done his best to learn; or if he be really very stupid and dull, still if he

being obedient to the laws of the school. The only point of difference between us is, what the laws should be, and how they should be enforced.

has tried his best, no man, we think, would consider blows a proper punishment. Corporal punishment is probably reserved by the more reasonable defenders of it for the infraction of positive rules of the school (which rules may be good or bad), for obstinacy, lying, and other like offences. If it would cure, or tend to cure these evils, something might be said in favour of it. But our correspondent seems to think that the boy is the only person concerned in the business, whereas it takes two to make a flogging, a boy and a master; and our main objection to flogging is founded on certain considerations that primarily affect the master. Our objection is this: first, it is very difficult, particularly if the occasions for punishment arise often, for the master to inflict the punishment with coolness and solemnity, and, as a general rule, in ordinary schools, punishment follows the offence too soon to enable the master to do it judiciously. If it is inflicted with any passion whatever, it is very likely that blows will be inflicted beyond what is just, and beyond what the master himself intended; he will exhibit to his scholars an example of ungoverned temper, he who is to be their guide, their pattern, and their friend; he will run very great risk of forfeiting all their respect, unless he be a man of more than usual intellectual strength, in which case he may command some respect, but will secure no love. We are all along supposing that the scholar is conscious that he deserves some punishment, and that all the boys would admit the justice of the punishment; but what will be the case if he thinks he does not? Suppose his offence to be a violation of some petty rule—suppose the master to be influenced merely by bad humour—is the boy in this case, as we

are told, to submit quietly to what he feels to be unjust? He may submit, but in his moral organization there is something implanted which resents this outrage, and we believe that this something is for good, not for harm. He feels contempt and indignation for the tyrant who abuses superior strength, and rooted hatred is his only feeling towards his teacher. Again, can a master, whose system is to govern by blows, expect the love and respect of those who are under him? If a boy finds that a blow is, in the master's mind, the extreme punishment, what value will he set on the master's approbation or disapprobation? What power has the master of influencing the conduct of his pupils, when the efficacy of the blows is exhausted? Boys, after a time, care not for ordinary blows; if blows are to do good, they must continually increase in severity, and, in course of time, nothing but extremely severe punishment can be efficient, even in securing *temporary* obedience; and extreme punishment must be adopted by those who defend blows, if their system is to have the merit of consistency.

We stop to meet a possible objection that may be made, of this kind. Under your improved system, in which the disapprobation of the master is to work such miracles, is it not possible that the master's disapprobation may be expressed in cases where the boy thinks he does not deserve this disapprobation, which you substitute for other punishment? and if this is so, will not there be certain bad effects, similar to those which you attribute to the infliction of blows, or at least some effects which are positively bad and perhaps worse than those from a blow, which is a thing that many boys soon forget, while words often remain in the memory? Let us see

how this matter stands. The expression of approbation or disapprobation implies reflection, caution, delay: the natural attendants of blows are passion and haste. There is therefore less chance of error in expressing disapprobation than in giving a blow. A blow also, as it has been well said by the Author of the 'Remarks on Flogging and Fagging in Winchester,' (See Journal of Education, No. XVII. p. 84, *et seq.*) is not a reason: it is not even a word; it is a blow, and nothing more. Disapprobation is expressed in words—in words which are not words of passion, but words that contain reasons and require consideration; and reasons expressed are immediately subjected to the judgment of those who hear them: if they are good reasons, they compel conviction and acquiescence. If they are bad, perhaps the master will find out that they are insufficient, before he exposes himself by uttering them; and here again is delay, which is the thing we aim at producing, between the offence and the punishment. But suppose the boy does not admit the master's easons; suppose all, or nearly all the boys sometimes do not admit the reasons for the expression of disapprobation to be adequate; and suppose the master's reasons are not adequate. But here again is a great difference between reasons and blows: the boys cannot deny that the master has acted with coolness, with deliberation, with a real intention to do his best; they cannot help approving of the mode in which he has expressed his disapprobation, even if he is mistaken. The master, on his part, will readily see how his opinion is received by the boys: if it is not received as he wishes, he must reflect on the matter, and endeavour to find out where he is mistaken; and it is very likely that he will not fall into the same error again.

A blow unjustly inflicted is a wrong done, for which no excuse can be given except that it was done in haste, which is no security against its repetition; whereas disapprobation, with reasons for it, even if the disapprobation is unmerited, contains in it something which is of the nature of security against a repetition. We have here supposed an extreme case. A well-trained master, who has reflected on the motives by which both men and boys are influenced, will not be in much danger of falling into such mistakes as we have supposed. His disapprobation will be founded on good reasons, and will be the ruling motive for the boys avoiding to do wrong. In the other case blows are the ruling motive. Now here stand the two masters, and let the boys choose between them: one holds in his hand the rod, and says if you do so and so, I will flog you; the other says, if you do so and so, I shall disapprove your conduct, and I shall show, by my behaviour, in private or public, or both, that I do not like what you do; I shall tell you why, and you will find that most of the boys and other people too will be of my mind. If you do as I wish you shall receive my public approbation: this is what I offer to you as the opposite of my disapprobation. What has my friend there with the rod got to offer you as the opposite of flogging?—when he approves of your conduct he will not flog you.

Any man who has had any experience in managing boys or dealing with men, knows very well how many circumstances occur in this intercourse which tend to irritate and annoy; and this quite independent of positive disobedience on the part of boys, or bad intention on the part of men. The natural outlet for this irritation and annoyance is action of some kind; and the

natural objects of this action are the causes of our irritation. Between men and men these feelings are checked by a knowledge that, if exercised unreasonably by any person, they will call forth the feelings in others which we name anger and resentment, without which corresponding feelings the first would run riot, and society could not exist. These antagonist principles are the elements of order in society; they produce mutual caution as to giving just cause of offence, lest anger and resentment should be excited. We are so constituted that we resist wrong, and endeavour to get reparation for injury; it is one end of society to help us in getting this reparation, and with this view the law fixes the mode in which reparation must be obtained.

As between boys and men, the case is different. Usage has given to men a power over boys which it has not given to men over men; and this power, as it is proportionally greater, and under comparatively little control, requires the greater caution in its exercise. But it is proposed to exercise this power occasionally (what the occasions proposed are, we do not know—'for *faults* of young boys' is the vague term that is used, Letter, p. 284)—it is proposed to use the power occasionally in inflicting blows on boys, from whom the same consequences cannot be apprehended as from men, and therefore a great part of the wholesome restraint above alluded to in the case of men and men, is here wanting. It is to be used by men who neither by education nor in any other way have any superiority over other men in controlling their passions; it is to be used by schoolmasters not trained to their business. It is certain then that it will often be used ill; it is a power that would be used ill by any man, whether school-

master or not. And the longer a man has been accustomed to inflict blows, the readier will he be to inflict them, and the more careless in discriminating the occasions for their application. A wise man is very cautious about inflicting a blow, especially on one from whom no resistance is apprehended; a wise master is cautious how he gives a blow to a slave who must submit; for experience tells us all, that our passions of all kinds grow stronger by indulgence, and that it is dangerous to exercise a power that may be used without fear of resistance. These arguments go to prove that it is very difficult indeed to inflict blows on boys, under any circumstances, without displaying passion, without exceeding the bounds of propriety which we ourselves acknowledge, and without forfeiting the respect of our pupils, and thus losing the strongest instrument of government in a school—the desire of the boys to obtain the approbation of the master. So great, we say, is this risk, that all men, particularly those of an irritable temperament, will probably lose much more authority by beating boys, even occasionally, than they would by abstaining from it altogether; and to those who are conscious of such infirmities of temper, we strongly recommend total abstinence from blows, which will infallibly set them on finding some substitute.

If, as is admitted (Letter, p. 284), 'the amount of corporal punishment inflicted may be reduced to something very inconsiderable,' it seems very difficult to find a reason why the little that remains need be kept. If it is good for anything, why part with any of it?—if it is not good, get rid of the remainder, for you will not say that having substituted 'the force of moral motives' for a large part of what was once flogging, you reserve

the right of a bit of flogging to fall back upon when you are hard pressed for other means. In fact, we do not understand the way in which the flogging argument is put by our correspondent, though we have read it with much attention. Whether the application of a little of the reserved right would help us or not we will not venture to say.

The writer of the article on Winchester School asserts that 'corporal punishment is degrading:' the author of the Letter asserts this expression to originate in a 'proud notion of personal independence, which is neither reasonable nor Christian, but essentially barbarian.' (Letter, p. 281.) It is not important to settle this point, which we leave as it stands. But it is important to see clearly what are the invariable principles of our nature, which remain the same whether names do so or not. Blows inflicted by a master under the mere influence of passion, as they often are and must be, blows inflicted when the boy who receives them and his fellows too know they are not merited, even according to the blow-giving code, will be accompanied with a sense of injury, and the boy will feel resentment.* Can anything be more absurd than to say that this feeling is wrong (we do not say that our correspondent says so), or that the boy should submit with all humility to the unjust correction of his superior in age? He feels resentment, and he cannot help feeling it: no teaching or preaching can eradicate this feeling; we presume, therefore, that the feeling is that kind of feeling which is necessary, and we pronounce it good. From the moment that a blow is given unjustly to a boy, all the natural feeling of respect and regard for his master

* See Bishop Butler's excellent discourse on Resentment.

disappears, and it is impossible that any good can be done after. Whether what we have stated is an imaginary case, we appeal to some who may read this article. A prudent governor, either of boys or men, will be cautious never to put himself in a situation in which he runs the risk of losing the natural respect paid to superiors in age and station.

If space allowed, we should insist still further on this topic, believing that as a general rule blows will be inflicted under the influence of passion, and that they do raise in the minds of boys a feeling of resentment, which are very sufficient reasons for not inflicting blows at all. As to a system of blows, which shall be the best possible system of blows, well regulated, strictly defined, enforced with all due solemnity, in number and degree varying with the offence, at certain intervals after all chance of passion in the master is over, and never felt by the boy to be undeserved—why all this supposes the efficacy and necessity of the blow to be entirely done away with, for it resolves itself into the ultimate principle of all school government and of all good society, the approbation and good opinion of those who are wiser and better than ourselves. When the matter is brought to this point—the offence committed, no anger or passion exhibited on the part of the master, but a firm resolution to punish, and no one to say that punishment is not deserved—when the matter is brought to this point, and the time for the punishment is come, will a blow add to the efficacy of the punishment? Suppose the punishment to be the disapprobation of the master, expressed either in private or public, as the case may be, accompanied with such personal restraint, or temporary separation from the other pupils as may be

judged proper, will a blow add to the severity or efficacy of this punishment, or take from it? We believe that the expressed disapprobation of the master, if the boys value his approbation or disapprobation, will inflict more pain, and pain of a kind to work good, than any blows in any way administered. If we have not said enough on the subject of beating, we refer our readers to Locke, in his 'Essay on Education,' in whose remarks they will find all, or nearly all, that need be said about it, which is here omitted, because it cannot be said better. Locke allows of beating, though unwillingly, in one case.

We have not touched on the effects which a practice of flogging, particularly under a passionate master, must have on the boys with respect to their intercourse with one another. A little reflection will show that the effects must be bad.

Young persons, as a general rule, readily imitate the conduct of those around them; they do as their elders do, think as they think, and in all respects repeat what they see and hear. This circumstance, this fundamental law of our moral organization, like all other general laws, may produce good or ill. Among the poor, the bad example of many parents, their ignorance, their want of cleanly and decent habits, their intemperance, and other vices, are a great obstacle to a reform in this part of society, because bad habits are in a perpetual course of transmission from one generation to another. The same remark applies to many rich parents: their extravagant and irregular way of living, their slavish devotion to established modes whatever they may be, their profound submission to all above, and their intolerable arrogance to those whom they suppose beneath them,

—all these things work on the youthful mind, and produce a copy as bad as the original. On the other hand, when parents, whether of high or low condition, whether rich or poor, set their children an example of industry, of temperance, of sympathy for the wise and good, whatever may be their rank and station; such an example, as a general rule, of itself, and without further teaching, makes, or powerfully tends to make, an upright, fearless, and truly honourable character. A master of a school is said, in popular phrase, to stand in the place of a parent, and if a master of a school were what all should be, and what some few are, he would not merely be said to be, but he would be, a parent, and more than a parent. His superior information, his earnestness in the discharge of his duty, his unvarying kind treatment of those who merit his regard, and his unwearied exertions both in and out of school-hours, could not fail to strike the boys as being something even more than a parent does for his children, certainly more than what most parents are either able to do or willing to attempt to do. A man whose intellectual character is based on sound knowledge (and this is an essential element in all moral character), whose natural tastes being simple lead him to seek the society of children, whose pleasures are derived from giving pleasure to others—such a man would, by his mere example, produce effects on his pupils as beneficial as they would be lasting. The man whose manners are coarse, whose language is harsh and abusive, whose reasons lie in the strength of his arm, and whose government is that of physical force, sets an example to his boys that they will infallibly imitate; and accordingly we do find in some schools where flog-

ging prevails, where the master calls his pupils hard names, and rules by creating fear, that the same principles are followed out by the boys, whose conduct towards one another is indecent, brutal, and cruel. Such an effect, produced by the bad example of a master who governs by fear and flogging, is not an imaginary thing, but a reality.

Among the numerous causes which have rendered flogging necessary as a means of government, there is one which is of very extensive influence. Many masters, as already said, become masters by chance: they have no love for their profession; they enter upon it from necessity. They are not well acquainted with the branches of knowledge which they profess to teach, nor are they acquainted with good methods of teaching. The consequence is, that the instruction is irksome to the master; dull, monotonous, and tiresome to the pupil. Continual blunders and listlessness provoke the master; and he discharges his irritation by giving blows, a kind of relief, under the circumstances, almost necessary. It might be better for the master to allay his uneasy feelings by running round the school-ground, or taking a few jumps, or venting his irritation on a figure of a boy stuffed with straw; but the real boy, the cause of his irritation, is before him, and the blow, or the abusive word, is directed to him. It is a lamentable thing that children whose curiosity is so active, whose desire to learn is so ardent and so pure, should be made so careless, so lazy, and so provoking, merely through the ignorance of their teachers: but this flows naturally from a system in which children are taught so little that interests them, and that little, after all, in a way the least attractive, and consequently the least effi-

cient. If the different branches of knowledge were taught in that order and in that manner which are best calculated to develop the faculties, the pupil would, as a general rule, be as willing to learn as the most zealous master could be to teach. Blows, so far from being required, would be altogether incompatible with such a system; the master would have pleasure in teaching, the boys would have still more pleasure in learning. Even the little boys would not require to be beaten for their *faults:* they would be ashamed of them as soon as they were committed. Of all the defences of flogging, that which goes on the notion of getting rid of a great deal of it, of not inflicting it on the big boy, but restricting it to the *faults* of the little boys, is the most pitiable and irrational. The younger the boy is (provided he has not been spoiled before he comes to school), the more active is his curiosity, the more eager is he to learn, the more disposed is he to feel the value of kind treatment when he knows that he merits it, and the more deeply does he feel the temporary loss of his parent's or master's esteem. This feeling exists most strongly in infants; it diminishes as they grow older, for it is not a result of reason, but a sympathy, of which the teacher ought to know how to avail himself. As the child grows older, this sympathy weakens, and it is our business to see that reason occupies the vacant place.

The author of the Letter (p. 282) has some observations on the principle of pain, a word that we have just used, which seem to call for a few remarks. There is no disputing some of the positions laid down by him in the Letter (p. 282), but how they all bear on the question before us, as explained by our correspondent, we do not

comprehend; nor can we understand the connexion of the several parts of the two paragraphs in which this matter is discussed. The following by itself is intelligible—'To say that corporal punishment is an appeal to personal fear, is a mere abuse of terms. In this sense all bodily pain or inconvenience is an appeal to personal fear; and a man should be ashamed to take any pains to avoid the tooth-ache or the gout. Pain is an evil; and the fear of pain, like all other natural feelings, is of a mixed character, sometimes useful and becoming, sometimes wrong and mischievous.' And this—'It is very true that the fear of punishment generally (for surely it makes no difference whether it be the fear of the personal pain of flogging, or of the personal inconvenience of what have been proposed as its substitutes, confinement and a reduced allowance of food) is not the highest motive of action, and therefore the course actually followed in education is most agreeable to nature and reason, that the fear of punishment should be appealed to less and less as the moral principle becomes stronger with advancing age.'

First we are told, that to call 'corporal punishment' an 'appeal to fear' is an abuse of terms; then we are told that in this sense—that is, if corporal punishment is an appeal to fear—the tooth-ache or the gout is also an appeal to fear. Such puerile attempts to obscure the real question hardly need exposure. The assertion would be true, if a schoolmaster could at his pleasure inflict a fit of tooth-ache, and many boys may congratulate themselves that he cannot, for assuredly tooth-aches would be more common than they are. An 'appeal to fear' may be a good or a bad motive, as our correspondent states. When 'corporal punishment' is called

an 'appeal to fear' (a mode of expression which we by no means justify), it is implied, we presume, that the wrong motive is presented, the fear of the rod, instead of other motives which it is presumed would better produce the desired effect.

We are further told that it makes no difference whether a boy receives a blow from his master as a punishment for some offence, or some other kind of punishment such as is there mentioned. But here again we have the matter put into utter confusion, for it is the *kind* of punishment which is the very thing in question. We all admit that punishment of *some* kind is necessary for boys who do wrong, as well as for men; and there is no great difficulty in seeing in what the differences of punishment consist, which we think unnecessary to explain at length, as anybody can find it out for himself by the following hints. The disapprobation of the master, the temporary loss of his usual kind regard, is a punishment different from confinement; and confinement is different from a blow on the hand with a cane; and a blow on the hand with a cane is different from a blow on the bare breech with a rod; and a blow on the bare breech with a rod is different from thumb-screws or any instruments of torture; and so on.

Finally, 'the fear of punishment should be appealed to less and less as the moral principle becomes stronger with advancing age.' 'Fear of punishment should be appealed to'—is not this an abuse of terms? We were told so just now. But this is a trifle. We are here told impliedly that we must begin our education with one of the lower motives, which we now learn is the true character of the 'appeal to corporal punishment,' an opinion in which we entirely agree; and we must appeal to it

less and less as the boy grows older, because as he grows older his moral principle becomes stronger—becomes stronger by his education being first subjected to that influence which is called one of the lower motives of action. We do not profess to understand how the moral principle becomes stronger under this arrangement. Nor are we quite sure that we understand what is here meant by the moral principle. As boys grow older their passions become stronger, and unless the power of self-control grows stronger at an equal rate, the whole boy is less adapted for right conduct than he was at an earlier age. He may know more as to what is best to be done, but he is subjected to more influences which tend to draw him from the right course. The power of conducting himself properly under these circumstances may be called the moral principle, and we presume this is what is intended. But this power does not come from increasing years, for with increasing years, when there is no right discipline, the moral principle, as thus understood, becomes weaker and weaker, as we all know. And this we believe to be the state of the case in many schools, not merely those called public schools. The passions increase with increasing years, but the power of self-control does not increase in the same rate, because there is no discipline specially directed to this object, as Locke suggests there should be.*

* A few alterations have been made in this article, and a few parts added, since it was printed in the Journal of Education.

LECTURE ON THE MEANS WHICH MAY BE EMPLOYED TO STIMULATE THE STUDENT WITHOUT THE AID OF EMULATION.

By JOHN L. PARKHURST.

Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, August, 1831.

It has been the practice of most teachers to call in the aid of *emulation* to stimulate their pupils in the prosecution of their studies. By several writers, however, it has been maintained, that this is not a good or a safe principle of action. And many teachers, who resort to it, acknowledge its tendency to be dangerous, but justify themselves on the ground of necessity. They suppose it to be impossible to find other motives sufficiently powerful to produce the desired effect. The attention of my respected audience is now invited to a few remarks on "the means which may be employed to stimulate the student without the aid of emulation."* If

* It will be seen that the shape of the subject assigned by the directors of the institute precluded the writer from entering into a consideration of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of emulation as a principle of action. In the discussion which followed the delivery of the lecture, however, he was led to regret that he had not at least attempted a *definition* of emulation, and made a few plain *distinctions* in order to guard, if possible, against that confusion of terms and ideas too, by which the discussion was embarrassed. Indeed, without a clear idea of what emulation is, it would not appear but that the lecturer, in attempting to enumerate the best means of stimulating a student without the aid of emulation, had inadvertently recommended some methods which have a direct tendency to excite those feelings in which emulation consists. Is

such means can be pointed out, a favour will be conferred on those who regard emulation as an unlawful or an unsafe principle of action ; while even they who have no scruples on that point may find the influence of other motives a desirable auxiliary in the work of education. The importance of the subject assigned me on this occasion is readily perceived, when we consider how general is the practice of resorting to the aid of emulation, in families, in common schools, and in literary institutions of a higher order; how powerful this principle is in its operation ; and how great and lasting an influence it frequently has in the formation of human character. To do full justice to our subject would re-

emulation, then, as has been sometimes insinuated, a desire of advancement in knowledge and virtue ? a desire of continued and indefinite progress in literature and science, and in the culture of the intellectual faculties ? If so, the lecturer has entirely mistaken his subject, and has relied for success in stimulating a student, chiefly on that very principle which he professed to avoid. But he understood emulation, and he still believes it is generally understood, to be quite a different thing. *Emulation*, as he understood the term, is a love of *superiority*, a spirit of *competition* or *rivalry*, a desire to *outdo others*. It is altogether a *comparative* thing, and derives its whole gratification from a *comparison* of one's self with another, or some others, who are regarded as inferior, or as having been left behind in the race. It is a *selfish* principle, and utterly inconsistent with disinterested benevolence. One who is actuated by better motives might say to his fellow,—"I have a desire to press forward in the path of improvement and usefulness; I am determined to use every effort for the purpose. I should rejoice to see you do the same. Come, then, and go with me. We may each be a help to the other. It will give me pleasure to aid your progress by every means in my power. But if you remit your efforts, I must condemn your negligence. If you fail for the want of opportunity or ability, I shall lament your misfortune. Surely I cannot wish to see you linger behind. I should be base, indeed, to derive pleasure from seeing another destitute of a good which I myself enjoy." (For a more extended discussion of this subject, see the chapter on "Emulation and Ambition" in "Elements of Moral Philosophy," by the writer of the Lecture.)

quire an elaborate treatise on the principles of education. On the present occasion, being restricted by feeble health within narrow limits, I can only offer a few suggestions, without stopping to illustrate my meaning by examples, to prove the correctness of my views by facts and arguments, or to trace my principles to their various practical results.

1. The human mind is formed for activity. It is so constituted that the voluntary exercise of its various faculties on appropriate objects is a source of pleasure. But there are several ways in which the mind, especially of a child, may become fatigued, or wearied, or disgusted. Mental exertion may be too long continued. The mind may be too long confined to a single object. Exercise may be afforded to only one of the faculties, the memory for instance, while the other faculties, more important in their nature, and more interesting to the possessor, are suffered to lie dormant. The mind may be compelled, or reluctantly urged, to direct its attention to a specified object, at a moment when it happens to have a strong preference for some other employment; or it may be required to attend to something, to which it has imbibed an aversion in consequence of injudicious treatment or unfortunate associations of ideas. The pleasure naturally arising from intellectual effort may also be destroyed by keeping the body too long confined to the same posture. The intimate connexion and mutual influence of body and mind are well known. The body is formed for activity as well as the mind. If, for want of exercise, or from a confined posture, the blood does not circulate freely and all the vital functions go on briskly, the intellectual operations will be impeded. When the bones begin to ache,

or the blood to stagnate, the mind becomes dull, and that which otherwise would be very interesting, now loses its power to charm. Let, then, the parent or teacher carefully guard against all these counteracting influences, and he will find that the pupil will voluntarily, and with pleasure, exercise his mental faculties and his bodily senses on such subjects and such objects as are suited to his age and capacity.

But what are the subjects, and what are the objects, to which the attention of the mind should be invited? In the case of children we may infer the design of nature, and may learn what is best suited to their capacity, by observing to what they, of their own accord, chiefly direct their attention and curiosity. It is to the colours, forms, and other sensible properties, together with the names and uses of material objects. Now, it is the part of a wise teacher to follow nature; to make the inquisitiveness of children the means of their improvement; and to gratify, encourage, and guide their curiosity, by giving them information, and assisting them to distinguish and describe the colours, forms, uses, &c., of the objects around them. Here is a wide field for inquiry and instruction. The various works of art, and the multiform productions of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral, lie open to inspection. But even here a selection must be made, and only those facts and operations must be presented to the mind which it is capable of comprehending. And caution must be used, not to present too many new objects and new ideas in rapid succession. This distracts the mind, produces confusion of thought; precludes a careful observation of the properties, the differences, and resemblances of individual objects; and of course prevents anything valuable from

being treasured up in the memory. In such circumstances, the mind makes a desperate effort to grasp everything, and fails to secure anything. The disappointment is painful, and disgust and aversion are liable to ensue. The same caution is necessary in teaching children or beginners any branch of learning whatever. An aversion to being taught is frequently imbibed while learning the alphabet. But this probably arises, in most instances, from the circumstance, that so many new characters, of various forms, are presented to the eye in such rapid succession, that the child, finding it impossible to distinguish and remember them, gives over the attempt in despair, and becomes listless, inattentive, and averse to the task. If the letters were presented one at a time, and each rendered familiar before a new one was introduced, they would be learned with ease and with pleasure. Geometrical lines, surfaces, and solids, are, however, better adapted to the faculties of a young child, as being in their forms more regular, and less complicated, than the alphabetic characters.

I have dwelt chiefly on the kind of instruction suitable for children, because it requires more skill to teach them than to teach older students, and because, if a fondness for learning is imbibed in childhood, and correct intellectual habits are then formed, the grand point is gained; the future improvement of the pupil is almost secure; that fondness and those habits can seldom fail to remain, to stimulate and guide the researches of future years. That the intellectual and moral character is frequently determined by early impressions, is a remark, trite indeed, but so important, that it ought to be repeated, again and again, in the ears

of every parent and guardian, and teacher of the rising generation.

Have I digressed from my subject? I think not—at least not far. The result to which we come is, that a most powerful means of stimulating the student is, *to teach him in a judicious and skilful manner.* Do this, and avoid all counteracting influences, and he will *love to learn.* The exercise of the faculties, and the acquisition of new ideas, are both naturally sources of pleasure to the mind. This pleasure, once tasted, will be again desired. This desire, which gains strength by fruition, is a stimulus, pure in its nature, safe in its operation, salutary in its influence, and powerful in its effects.

But there are many teachers who do not afford their pupils a proper *opportunity* to exert their faculties. Instead of setting their pupils to *thinking* and *investigating*, they, as far as possible, do all the thinking for them; thus making them almost entirely *passive* in the acquisition of ideas. The teacher who wishes to stimulate his pupils to the highest degree of exertion should guard against this course. He should never do for his pupils what they can do for themselves. He should never tell them a thing which they can find out for themselves. And when they must be assisted, he should afford them only so much assistance that they can do the *rest* themselves. In a word, he should, as far as possible, in all the branches, pursue that *inductive method* which, we hope, will effect a greater advance in the intellectual improvement of the rising generation than can be effected by any other cause.

2. In connexion with the preceding remarks, we would recommend to aim at variety and novelty in the objects which are presented to the attention of the

student. This is peculiarly necessary in the case of children. One great reason why they soon become weary with reading or committing words and sentences which they do not understand, is, that the charm of novelty is wanting. No food being afforded to the mind, the lesson consists merely of a succession of unmeaning sounds, which fall with dull monotonous sameness on the ear. It is in general advisable that a student should attend to different branches of study at different hours of the day. When he begins to be weary with application to a single branch of learning, to exchange it for another serves as a relaxation to the mind, and may frequently answer that purpose as well as modes of relaxation of a less profitable nature. Caution must be used, however, as already suggested, against dissipating the mind by directing it to too great a variety of objects in a day. And it may be added, that seldom, if ever, should two studies, that are entirely new, be commenced at the same time. But not a day, and, if possible, not a lesson should be suffered to pass, without the acquisition of some ideas, which the learner feels to be new. Too often, indeed, the learner is taught in such a way that he cannot distinguish new ideas from old ones; and too many teachers never think of enabling their pupils to make the distinction.

3. A student is stimulated to exertion by guarding against a wandering mind, and keeping the attention directed to the proper object. In order that this may be the case during the time of recitation, the questions should be so managed, that individuals cannot answer unless their attention be unremitted. This may be done, partly by expressing questions in such language that they cannot be understood without having attended to

the previous questions and answers; partly when one pupil has failed to answer a question, or has answered it wrong, by calling on another to answer *without repeating the question;* partly, by analyzing the ideas, and making each question and answer as short as possible, so as to pass rapidly round the class; partly, when one pupil has committed an error in some part of his answer or performance, by calling on another to specify the error, and to show why it is an error; and partly, by calling on individuals to answer questions, or to correct one another's errors, not in the order in which they stand or sit, but promiscuously. And minute as the circumstance may appear, the teacher will find it useful, in many cases, to announce a question previously to calling the individual by name who is desired to answer it. The putting of questions promiscuously, and refusing to repeat a question which has been once distinctly announced, may be made a powerful means of keeping alive the attention of a whole class, or even of a whole school, during an exercise which concerns the whole. It frequently happens, that when one individual of a class is performing his part of an exercise, the others, or some of them, instead of listening to his performance, are studying that question or that part of the task which seems likely to come to them. Some effectual means must be taken to defeat all calculations of this kind, as it is of the highest importance that every individual in a class should listen attentively to the performance of every other individual.

4. And in order to stimulate them to exertion in preparing for recitation, no one should be able to calculate what part of the exercise he shall be called on to perform.

Some teachers always, at a recitation, begin at one end of the class; so that those who stand at that end know to a certainty that the first part of the lesson will come to them, and those who do not stand there are almost equally certain that it will not come to them. I have even seen a class of little fellows, when paraded in due order on the floor, begin and spell each his word in rotation, and run through a column of the Spelling Book in rapid and unbroken succession, without needing the voice of the teacher, or even giving him an opportunity to speak. If one of the band had happened to be *absent*, I suppose *his word* must have been omitted.

5. The inducement to study lessons thoroughly will be much increased, if each scholar is allowed to *try but once* in spelling a word or answering a question. It is, I fear, a general practice to try twice, when the first attempt proves to be an error; and some hasty spirits will try three or four times almost in a breath, before the teacher has opportunity to put the question to another, or to advise them to pause and consider what they are saying. This habit of *guessing* is truly a lamentable one. "Think before you speak," is a maxim worthy to be frequently inculcated in school. To a pupil who manifests a propensity to disregard this maxim the teacher might say, "When I ask you a question, you either know how to answer it, or you do not. If you know, you can, by proper care, answer correctly the first time. If you do not know, then be honest enough to say so, and let some one tell that does know; for the art of guessing is a branch which I do not teach." To limit each pupil strictly to a single answer, except in special cases, not only affords a stimulus to exertion,

but induces a habit of consideration, caution, and correctness in speaking, which is of inestimable value.

6. In all cases where it is practicable, it is best that questions should be asked in the language of the instructor, and answered in that of the pupil, instead of using printed questions, and giving answers verbatim as they have been marked with a pencil. If the pupil does not know precisely what questions will be asked, or in what form they will be put, and finds it necessary to answer more by an exercise of understanding than by an act of memory, he will exert himself to understand the subject; and by so doing he will acquire more knowledge, will cultivate his mental faculties in a higher degree, and will become far more deeply interested in his studies, than by pursuing a different course.

7. The various means of stimulating a student which have been brought into view are chiefly included in the general idea of a skilful method of teaching. I shall now briefly advert to a few, which are of a somewhat different nature. One of these is derived from the power of *sympathy*. There is, in the human breast, a propensity to feel the same emotions which we see manifested by another on whom our attention is fixed. Hence, if a child perceives that those who are around him, especially his teacher and parents, take a pleasure in knowing those things which he is learning, his own desire to know them, and his pleasure in learning them, will be greatly increased. This is probably the principal reason, that where we find in parents a taste for reading and literary pursuits, we usually find the same in their children. But when a child knows that his parents and teacher consider learning as an irksome task, and expect him to consider it so, his heart

is closed against the sweet influences of knowledge, and he imbibes an antipathy to the very sight or name of a book.

8. Another means of stimulating the student is the pleasure of meeting the approbation of his teacher, parents, and friends. What pleasure more exquisite than that of knowing that we give pleasure to others? What sweeter bliss than that of being beloved by those whom we love? Such is the pleasure which the child enjoys when he sees the approving smile of his parent or teacher. When he gives an account of what he has learned, or answers questions relative to it, to hear his teacher say, "You have got your lesson well;" or, "I am glad that you understand this lesson so well," is a reward which would compensate him for hours of toil, even if the getting of the lesson had been in itself a hard and painful task. How unfit, then, for their office are those teachers who listen to the recitations of their pupils with cold indifference, and seldom manifest a lively pleasure in witnessing their improvement! But here much caution must be used, lest a spirit of rivalry should be excited, attended with vanity and pride on the one hand, and with envy and hatred, ill-humour and despondency, on the other. Where several are associated in the same study, it will happen that some will get their lessons much better than others who are equally studious. In such cases, there is much danger of wounding the feelings of the latter by the bestowment of praise on the former. Where it is possible, it is much the best way to praise a whole class at a time. Where this cannot be done, let commendation be sparingly and cautiously bestowed on those who have distinguished themselves, and let every appearance of

harshness, censure, or impatience be avoided in regard to those whose efforts have been less successful. And whenever these latter individuals happen to get a lesson better than usual, tell them so, and let them see that you feel a double pleasure in their improvement. Where scholars are indolent, or negligent, or do not try to learn, it is proper to let them know how much pain their conduct gives you; and perhaps sometimes a gentle reprimand for their waste of time and misimprovement of privileges may be expedient; but any degree of harshness, anything like scolding, driving, or compulsion, so far from making them love learning, will only serve to increase their aversion to it. Whether corporal punishment should ever be used in a school, to deter from the commission of crimes, is a question which it does not belong to me to decide or discuss; but sure I am, that the rod and the ferule are the worst means that ever were devised to get knowledge into the head, or the love of it into the heart.

9. Another means of stimulating the student is to *associate* as many *pleasing ideas* as possible with the thought of his lesson, his book, his school, and his teacher. The expectation of being approved and commended is indeed included in this head; but there are many *other* pleasing associations, by whose aid flowers may be strewed in the path of learning. A child should always hear an opportunity to learn spoken of as a privilege; a school, as a pleasant place; and an instructor, as a friend. Let this be done, and let every school be made indeed a pleasant place, and every instructor show himself a cordial friend to his pupils, and children would soon love their school as well as they do their play. A teacher of a common school should be a person of an

affectionate disposition; one who loves children, and whose patience and kindness are never exhausted by their ignorance, dulness, and numerous little faults. Yet all the efforts of the most affectionate, skilful, and indefatigable teacher may avail little, where they are counteracted by parents and others out of school, who view the subject in a wrong light, and are daily enstamping their false views on the minds of children.

10. Another means of stimulating the student is to point out to him the connexion between a good education and his future comfort and happiness. On pupils who are old enough to be capable of understanding this connexion, the consideration may be made to bear with great weight. It does not require much discernment or reflection to see, that a cultivated and well-furnished mind is not only a great help in managing one's pecuniary and temporal affairs so as to secure a comfortable subsistence, but adds greatly to a man's respectability and influence as a member of the community.

11. I shall name but one more means of stimulating the student to exertion; and that is, a *sense of duty and of future accountability*. Let the pupil be made to feel that he owes duties to himself, to his fellow-men, and to his Maker, which he can discharge only by diligence and assiduity in the acquisition of useful knowledge. Let him be made to feel that if he neglects to do all in his power to promote in the highest degree his own happiness and the happiness of all to whom his influence may extend, he does *wrong*, and must suffer the reproaches of an accusing conscience, and incur the disapprobation of Him who "is greater than the heart and knoweth all things." Let him never forget that time is short; that he has much to do; and that, of the manner

in which these fleeting moments are spent a review must hereafter take place and an account be rendered. Let him hence be made to feel that time is precious; that his privileges are precious; and that he has no *right* to waste the one or neglect the other.

LECTURE ON THE ADVANTAGES AND DEFECTS OF THE MONITORIAL SYSTEM, WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS, SHOWING IN WHAT PARTICULARS IT MAY BE SAFELY ADOPTED INTO OUR SCHOOLS.

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[Delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, August, 1830.]

'Δος πȣ στω και την γην καθησω.'

'Give me a place whereon I may stand, and I will raise the world,' said the mighty prince of ancient mathematicians, as the great truths of mechanical science flashed across his mind. In later days, and from a land where learning once held imperial sway, though now, over her widely extended plains ignorance and barbarism are brooding in deepest intellectual midnight, there has been heard a voice, bearing to us, my friends, who are actively engaged in the great business of education, and to all who feel a proper interest in its promotion, sounds of the deepest import. 'Give me a handful of pupils to-day, and I will give you as many teachers to-morrow as you want.' This was a saying very frequently used by the celebrated Dr. Bell, the well-known founder of the Madras, or Monitorial System of Instruction. The verification of an assertion like this would evince in him who should so make it good the possession of even greater power than Archimedes

would have displayed had he found a place whence he might have shaken the world from her deep and strongly laid foundations. For he who should with such rapidity create the means whereby to accomplish so noble an end, would possess himself of a host of intellectual levers (if I may be allowed the use of such an expression), which should exert an influence to move the world which not all the strivings of folly and of prejudice would be able to withstand. The cry that 'the schoolmaster is abroad' would have been uttered long before it fell from the lips of Brougham, and the wide plains which the siroc blast of ignorance had scorched and withered into a wilderness and a desert place would have blossomed like the rose, and been strewed with the rich and life-giving fruits of the tree of heaven-born science. But unfortunately for so fair a speculation, and 'a consummation so devoutly to be wished,' we fear that the inefficiency of the means and the feebleness of the levers will render many of the efforts to mov the world of ignorance almost, if not entirely, futile.

It has fallen to my lot, my respected friends, to address you upon 'the advantages and defects of the monitorial system of instruction,' and to endeavour to show how far it may be safely adopted into our schools.

I shall take up the subject in the order here laid down, and shall give you the results of my own observation and study, referring you neither to individuals nor to books, for corroboration of any assertions which may be made. I am induced to take this course, because I have thought, that when a subject like the present is pro posed, in the particular manner which the phraseology of ours seems to indicate, it is as frequently expected that the writer should advance his own opinions, as tha

he should collate and publish those of other people. There is this advantage attendant upon the former course of procedure, that the opinions advanced will be received as the opinions of a single individual, and so far only entitled to consideration; while, if the latter be pursued, the magic of great names and of high-sounding authorities may be apt to exert a controlling influence, and sometimes even an illimitable sway over many minds, and to compel them to yield that assent, and perhaps that entire submission, which they would never concede to individual assertion. The latter course may restrain, and even effectually check, our own freedom of opinion, while the former leaves it to act unbound and unembarrassed. Permit me to importune your candid hearing and judgment, and allow me to express my regrets that the subject has not fallen to the disposal of abler and more experienced hands.

The advantages which the monitorial system of instruction possesses over the ordinary method are the following:—

1. It provides, by the same means, and within the same amount of time, for the tuition of a ar eater number of pupils.

2. In consequence of such a provision, there results a very considerable economy of time.

3. In a school where this system is adopted, every individual is kept in constant employment.

4. A fourth advantage, and one resulting from the preceding, is, that by this method the disrelish and irksomeness on the part of scholars to school employments are lessened in no inconsiderable measure.

5. The monitorial system of instruction removes from the teacher much of the wearisome tediousness conse-

quent upon long-continued efforts in teaching the ordinary and more mechanical branches of learning, and enables him to introduce his pupils, or at least some portion of them, to more advanced and important studies than he would be able to do if his attention and services were constantly required for the instruction of each individual pupil.

These five points, it is believed, are the principal ones upon which the advocates for the system of mutual instruction found their claims for the preference. Some of them are of the greatest importance, and are fairly entitled to the highest consideration.

We shall proceed to speak of each of them more particularly.

1. The monitorial system, by the same means, and within the same amount of time, provides for the tuition of a far greater number of pupils than are taught by the ordinary method.

It has been found that by the use of monitors, or assistant teachers in miniature, one principal instructor may conduct the studies of two hundred and fifty or three hundred boys, thus performing the duties of at least five teachers. In many places, particularly in crowded cities and in extensive manufacturing districts, such an advantage is of incalculable importance. The amount of time usually allotted to children in such situations for obtaining some acquaintance with the simpler elements of knowledge is extremely limited, and this small portion ought to be most constantly occupied and sedulously improved. In such cases, the system under consideration, as it affords the means of obtaining the greater amount of instruction in the smaller portion of time, though that instruction is, from the nature of the

case, quite superficial, possesses unquestionable claims for the preference. This application of the system, and this alone, it is believed, was that contemplated by the originator or originators of it. At any rate, it is certainly the case that it was originally applied to the children of the lower classes in crowded cities for the laudable purpose of affording them what they had never before been blessed with, some small portion of instruction; which instruction, from the peculiar exigency of the case, was necessarily imparted with a prudent economy both of time and of money. Where but little instruction, therefore, can be communicated, and that little, sparing as it is, must be given in an extremely limited portion of time, we know of no better method of procedure than that of adopting the system under consideration.

2. The method of mutual instruction insures no inconsiderable economy of time.

In a school of one hundred and fifty members, taught by the customary method, the actual amount of time during which each scholar is entitled to the personal attention of his teacher, is precisely two minutes and two-fifths. Were there two instructors, he would be entitled to the double of this portion. Now let us suppose the school to be conducted on the monitorial system, and that there is employed one instructor, who has under him two divisions of monitors, each consisting of twenty persons. We will suppose the instructor to be constantly occupied with these two divisions in alternate order, and that the division not under immediate instruction is employed in the tuition of subdivisions of pupils. The twenty individuals around the teacher will receive, in the course of the customary six hours of daily

school-time, eighteen minutes of personal instruction, and the members of the subdivisions under the care of monitors will receive (being reduced in numbers, by the deduction of the monitors, to one hundred and ten), sixty-five minutes and a half of monitorial teaching, equivalent perhaps, in point of value, to the eighteen minutes of teaching given by the presiding monitor, the master, to his division. On this supposition, which will show fairly enough the usual routine of a monitorial school, each scholar receives nine times as much instruction as he would do in an ordinary case. Nor are the monitors, when actually employed in teaching, losing or wasting time; for we are undoubtedly all well aware that there is no better method of learning and securing the knowledge of any particular branch of study, than, after acquiring some little acquaintance with it, to be diligently engaged in teaching it. So that it has been rightly said, that the best way to learn is to teach. It is a most lamentable fact, that in all our common schools there is (not because of any fault of the teacher, but from the very defects of the common school system) a most profuse and shameful waste of time. This lavishness of the best and most precious of Heaven's gifts, and doubly precious to the growing mind, exists mostly in that part of the scholars who are at their desks apart from the teacher, and who ought to be employed in preparing an assigned exercise for recitation. Yet they, from that unfortunate peculiarity of human nature which tempts us to prefer ease to labour, suffer themselves to be employed only so long as will suffice for the preparation of, in most instances, a defective and miserable recitation. There they sit, as even the most unobserving spectator of our ordinary schools cannot but notice,

wasting the priceless energies of mind and of body, and acquiring habits of inattention and of idleness, the most miserable influence of which not the lapse of years nor the utmost labour of maturer days can ever wholly eradicate. To so unfortunate a profuseness of time we contend that any employment, even the most unsatisfactory, is preferable. Let it not be said that we require too much of the young, that we would keep them too constantly employed, that we would unwisely strain their youthful powers in the accomplishment of impossibilities. The time apportioned to school exercises is sparing enough; and the residue of the day, and the frequent recurrence of vacations and of holidays, give them the most ample opportunities for relaxation. But it may be said—'*Arcum nec semper tendit Apollo.*' True. But he never unbent it when in the fury of the chase. He never relaxed the keenness of his aim till the prey was prostrate at his feet.

3. A third advantage is, that in a school where this system is adopted every individual is kept in constant employment.

No one, as we have already observed, who is even but partially acquainted with the state of our schools under the ordinary management, can avoid observing how very great a portion of the customary school hours is wasted in absolute idleness. Let us suppose an instance of a teacher having the supervision and instruction of a school of forty members, who are divided into four classes. These four classes, we will suppose, are to recite in regular rotation, commencing with the lowest. While this class is employed with the teacher, the other three classes are, or ought to be, engaged in the preparation of a lesson. Now it is usually the case that the

lessons assigned to lads do not, or, from their fault, will not, occupy them more than three-quarters of an hour, or, at the most, an entire hour. The class reciting will perhaps occupy about the same amount of time; and when the teacher shall have finished with them, there are the three other classes, each and all prepared to recite at the same time. Now but a single one can be attended to, and the other two must and do sit absolutely unoccupied. Nay, so far as the discipline of the school and their own benefit is concerned, they are worse than idle, since they will be sure to resort to some mischievous expedients to kill the monster Time, till their turn for recitation comes round. But where the monitorial system, or something equivalent or better is adopted, no such difficulties can occur, because, as it in truth always ought to be the case, recitation occupies more of school time than study. We have supposed what we believe to be a favourable instance in the selection of a school of forty members. And if so much time be there worse than wasted, what shall we say of one which contains from one hundred and fifty to two hundred scholars? These last numbers give the usual amount commitied to the charge of a single teacher in all our large towns; and we hazard nothing in making the assertion, that of this large number one half are unemployed, so far as the acquisition of knowledge is concerned, more than one half of their time. Nay, even in the very best regulated schools, where but a single master is employed in the instruction of any considerable number of pupils, and without any assistance from them, this evil exists in a most alarming measure.

We conceive this difficulty to be the grand and most discouraging obstacle to the advancement of our com-

mon schools. We believe that they will never awake from the sluggishness under which so many of them lie buried, until this palsying incubus, which broods over and withers their best energies, be shaken from them. We believe that they will never take and maintain that rank which their numberless friends most earnestly desire them to do, until the constant employment of every individual, and the unsparing occupation of every moment of time, be universally prevalent. In our opinion, this feature of the monitorial system is above all praise; and the sooner it is found to exist in some shape or other in every school in the country, the sooner will their best interests be promoted. What teacher is there among us all who has not felt a glow of satisfaction and even of delight, when, on surveying his little kingdom, he has found every individual sedulously and profitably and constantly employed? Who is there among us all who does not esteem such moments among the very proudest of his professional career?

There is another point gained by the use of monitors, which we mention here because connected with the subject of frequent recitation. There can scarcely be found a parent who is not only willing, but even desirous, that his children should have some employment connected with school-exercises out of the ordinary limits of school-hours. This is particularly the case in the winter season, when the days are short, and school-time is contracted into the narrow bounds of five hours, and the evenings are of protracted length, and, on the part of children, mostly unoccupied. Lessons prepared out of school can, where the monitorial system is adopted, be recited as soon as school commences, and can *all* be recited, and simultaneously, and the whole work may

be accomplished in less than an hour. But where the old method prevails, the more lessons there are learned the worse it is for the learner, so far as recitation, which is the very life-blood and soul of school-time, is concerned.

4. The fourth advantage which we would mention, although they all seem to be so intimately connected that they might be easily enumerated under a single division, is, that the influence of this constant employment fairly and effectually removes the disrelish and irksomeness on the part of scholars and of teachers attendant upon the ordinary method of instruction.

We all know that when we are constantly and busily employed, time flies as upon noiseless and unheeded wings. There is no instructor from whom the fleeting hours do not pass away too rapidly; and many a one is there, if his school be exclusively conducted on the ordinary system, who has many a time found that his narrow portion of time is all elapsed, and his work is but half done. How readily and how heartily might such an one exclaim, were his dactyls handy,

> "Hei mihi! nunc quid agam? Nimium celeri pede fugit
> Hora———"

Now, by this constant employment, which is a characteristic feature of the system of mutual instruction, the same effects are produced in the removal of fatigue and irksomeness from the bodies and minds of scholars. And it is from them that we should be particularly anxious to remove every feeling and every impression that may be, in the least degree, unfavorable to the employments of the school-room. Make that a spot to which they will delight to resort; make it, in deed and

in truth, a '*ludus literarius*,' and you will remove the chief obstacles in the way of your success as an instructor.

5. The fifth and last point which we shall mention, in which the monitorial system has an advantage, is, that it exempts the teacher from much of the wearisome tediousness consequent upon long-continued efforts in teaching the ordinary and more mechanical branches of learning, and enables him to introduce his pupils, or, at least, some portion of them, to more advanced and important studies than he would be able to do, if his attention and services were constantly needed for the instruction of each individual scholar.

The zealous and the ambitious instructor, the man who is in love with the profession, for of such a man alone can success be predicated, will never rest satisfied that his school is as good as his neighbour's; that he teaches well, and that his pupils learn well, certain assigned, and therefore expected, branches of study; or, in other words, that it does not move in a retrograde direction, or that it is merely stationary. Περι τȣ *Θεμιστοκλεους λέγεται, ὥς καθευδέιν αυτον ούκ ἐώη το τȣ Μιλτιάδȣ τροπαιον*.' . . . 'Of Themistocles it is said, that the trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep.' Now, will it not be the case with the ambitious in every vocation—will it not be the case with the ambitious teacher, that the laurels of his brethren of the same calling will excite in his bosom, not the evil cankerworm of envy, but a generous, an open, a manly spirit of emulation, whose well-disciplined efforts shall benefit himself, his profession, and the world? Will not his motto be 'Onward, and onward still!' Will he not be unwilling to move, all his life long, in one unvarying

beaten track, to perform for ever a stale, and, to himself, a profitless round of tedious duties, destitute alike of interest and of novelty? We believe that he will. We believe that the history of his school will be distinguished by those periods of time at which some farther progress has been made in an assigned course of study, or some new department of learning has been introduced. Now, how can so desirable an end be so effectually accomplished as when he can avail himself of the services of a great number of assistants? To accomplish it thoroughly and satisfactorily, his assistants ought, indeed, to be adult teachers, and of sufficient acquirements and experience. But since, in ordinary cases, the possession of such adult teachers is next to an impossibility, let him make the nearest practicable approximation he can to the benefits which their aid would secure, by making use of such helps as a selection from his best scholars will afford him; or, in other words, by adopting some feature of the method of mutual instruction.

We do not mean that the progress of his school, to which we have alluded, shall be made at the sacrifice of thorough instruction, or that his school shall *appear* merely to have got over a greater than ordinary amount of study; though, as we shall hereafter show, we apprehend these to be the rocks upon which every monitorial school, in the strict meaning of the name, will eventually be wrecked. But it is very evident that, by the employment of a greater number of teachers, a greater amount of time is called into service, and of course a greater amount of labour performed. The best and surest way, however, to attain to the proper performance of this labour, is to employ, as we have already

hinted, a greater number of adult and experienced teachers than is done in ordinary cases. But if this cannot be done (and that it cannot will always be true so long as the public are opposed to the disbursement of a larger amount than is paid, at the present moment, for the instruction of public schools, and teachers are found who are willing to work at the public's prices), if this cannot be done, we say, let the teacher make use of the best means and the best assistance within his reach; that is, let him train up the most intelligent and the farthest advanced portion of his pupils to the business of teaching.

We have now done with the consideration of the advantages resulting from the system of mutual instruction. We have stated them, we believe, fairly and candidly, and have stated all which are entitled to much praise. We now proceed to show its defects. These we shall endeavour to lay down in the order of their relative magnitude.

We object to the monitorial system,

1. Because no school can be conducted upon it separably from great noise and confusion.

2. Because it is next to an impossibility to procure monitors who will prove, in every particular, faithful and adequate to the duties expected of them.

3. Because in a school conducted upon this system the principal instructor cannot be sufficiently well acquainted with the particular merits and failings of each individual pupil.

4. Because we believe its legitimate tendency is to make anything but thorough scholars, and to introduce into all, excepting the more mechanical parts of knowledge, a degree of superficialness and inaccuracy highly prejudicial to the best interests of sound learning.

Of these we proceed to speak also more at large.

1. And, in the first place, we object to the monitorial system, because we believe no school can be conducted upon it separably from noise and confusion.

No one who has ever visited a monitorial school can be otherwise than aware that this objection is founded upon what is strictly true. From the very nature of the case, noise and confusion, and those of no ordinary palpability, are absolutely inherent in the system. They were born with it, and have 'grown with its growth, and have strengthened with its strength.' In all monitorial schools a very large portion of the scholars, and sometimes all of them, are called into simultaneous recitation. This cannot occasion anything else than a confused uproar of exclamation, and a motley medley of vociferations. From the immediate contiguity in which many, and, in fact, we may say all the reciting classes are placed, and from the circumstance that usually all of them are performing their exercises within the limits of a single room, it cannot but follow that one set of reciters should continually interrupt and confuse those in their immediate proximity, particularly if they are reciting a different lesson. And so far as the interest of the learner is concerned, it is, in some particular cases, even worse, if the adjacent divisions are reciting the same lesson. For then, if there happen to be a dull scholar in No. 1, he has only to listen to and repeat the words of his comrade in the neighbouring No. 2, who has been blessed with a better head, and has acquired closer habits of application than himself. To this doffing the dunce and donning the wise one, to this literary smuggling, we have more than once been the amused witness. Again, if one half of the mem-

bers of the school are reciting, and the other half are endeavouring to study, how can it be that the noise and din of the reciters should have any other effect than to render the attempts of those who are required to be employed in study really and truly nothing but attempts, and those attempts the most abortive and futile? Who can apply himself undistractedly to study with confusion and noise echoing around his head? What scholar can comprehend the meaning of a difficult passage in a classic writer, or investigate successfully a complicated and slippery formula in the mathematics, when one-half of the little world of his fellow pupils are vociferating their lessons at the very top of their vocal powers? *Aurora musis amica*, and not more so from her freshness and beauty than from the calming influence and soothing nature of her noiseless hours.

2. Our second objection to this system is, that it is next to an impossibility to procure monitors who will prove, in every particular, faithful and adequate to the duties expected of them.

To instruct in any given branch of knowledge thoroughly and successfully, requires something more than even the greatest familiarity with the particular textbook which may have been adopted for that branch. If this were not the case, there would be no necessity that the individual whose design it may have become to qualify himself for the business of instruction, should go into an extensive and laborious course of reading and of study. He would be necessitated merely to drill himself to perfection in a certain set of books, and to have at convenient readiness a certain set of questions appended and chained down to a certain set of answers, and he would be armed and equipped for the peda-

gogical warfare. Now we maintain that this will not answer. We maintain that every teacher, to perform his duties faithfully and successfully, should be a person of studious habits, of extensive reading, and of very considerable acquisitions in every branch of learning which has any relation to the particular course of study adapted for the school into which it may be his fortune to be thrown. We do not mean that a man to teach arithmetic successfully should be extensively learned in the Latin and the Greek languages; or that he whose province it may be to teach history or geography, should be profoundly versed in mathematical learning. But, in the former case, he will be far more likely to be successful, and certainly he will perform his labours with more satisfaction to himself, if he possess a good knowledge of the ordinary branches of the mathematics; and, in the latter case, it is indispensable that he be familiar with the general history of the world, and even more than familiar with the particular history of individual countries. Now, that a mere child, or a mere school-boy (for they are the monitors) should possess this knowledge is by no means to be expected; and that they should perform the duties of teaching these branches of study with a desired success is as little to be expected. We are willing, indeed, to make some exception with regard to teaching, or rather superintending, the performance of the merely mechanical parts of arithmetical or other science. But in the other instance adduced we cannot see how any exception can be made. How many subjects, but cursorily or darkly hinted at in our little compends of history, can the well-informed teacher fully and satisfactorily elucidate! How much interest can he call forth from his youthful auditory, by

entering at large into the narration of some important and interesting subject, which the limited nature of the text-book has allowed to be but incidentally mentioned! How much light will a good knowledge of mathematics enable him to throw upon many of the rules and investigations of common arithmetic! For there are, as we all know, very many problems given for solution in our ordinary arithmetical treatises, which can only be demonstrated and understood by a reference to some principles of algebra or of geometry. Now, can we expect all these elucidations, desirable as they are, from the mouth of a common monitor to his fellow pupils? Most assuredly not; for so far as monitorial recitation goes, it is solely and purely mechanical, and altogether restricted to the prescribed text-book, or to an answer printed down in the books, and numbered to accord with a certain question. We know that the difficulty is still greater in those schools in which instruction in the ancient and modern languages is given by monitors. To make a young person familiar with the principles and the pronunciation of a language, even of his own, requires a long continued and persevering course of instruction. Of the Greek, Latin, and French languages this is particularly true. To pronounce either of the former correctly requires a perfect familiarity with the quantity of every word in the language, and this familiarity is not acquired in one, two, or even three years. Of the difficulties in acquiring a correct pronunciation of the latter we are all aware, and we are all as well aware of the great difficulty of acquiring the language from any other mouth than from that of a native teacher. How then can a common school monitor impart satisfactory instruction in these two in-

stances? We have been witnesses to the vain attempt. We have heard reiterated errors in the pronunciation of both the former languages pass entirely unheeded and uncorrected by the presiding monitor. We will not distract your ears by repeating what these errors were. Let it suffice merely to say, that they were terrific enough to make the bones of Porson rattle beneath the incumbent ground, and to frighten the manes of Bentley into annihilation. We do not think that any blame can, in the instance to which we allude, attach itself to the monitor himself. For his sin was the sin of ignorance. He was but little better informed upon the subject than the individuals over whose recitation he was presiding. He had, indeed, received instruction in advance of his division, and instruction of a very good quality; but it is useless to expect faultlessness and a perfect readiness in every particular, on the part of persons of so little experience as lads at school must necessarily possess. It may be said that the head-master himself was injudicious in his selection. In reply to this we would say, that we believe that the best selection was made which the nature of the case permitted. The fault was neither in the teacher nor in the monitor, but was then, and is now, absolutely inherent in the system itself. For that system directs us to place reliance upon those resources from which it is perfectly impossible that good and sufficient support should be obtained. Years of study, and the most extensive reading, and the most perfect familiarity with any language, ancient or modern, are, in our opinion necessary, nay, indispensable, if a man would teach it thoroughly and satisfactorily.

3. Our third objection is founded upon a belief that in

a school conducted upon the monitorial system, the principal instructor cannot be sufficiently well acquainted with the particular merits and failings of each individual pupil.

This acquaintance we esteem to be of the very highest importance. He is not at home in his school-room, nor does he know the materials with which he is to labour, who is not perfectly familiar with the disposition, talents, and acquirements of every individual in it. He must be unable to designate the good and the bad, the industrious and the indolent, the gentle and the stubborn, the incorrigible and the yielding. He cannot praise and promote the one, and judiciously punish or degrade the other, because he does not sufficiently know them. The power to understand and to discriminate should be in the teacher almost an innate capacity. He who is destitute of this capacity, or who neglects to cultivate and to improve it to the highest degree of excellence, is culpable in the extreme. And it is equally unfortunate for him, if the peculiar constitution and organization of his establishment put the means of acquiring this knowledge beyond his reach. Now that this is the case in monitorial schools we are fully persuaded. The great distance at which many of the pupils, not under the immediate supervision and instruction of the principal teacher, are necessarily kept, from the circumstance of their being disciplined and taught by the intervention of others, renders it impossible that the case should be otherwise.

4. Our fourth and final objection to this system is, that we believe its legitimate tendency is to make anything but thorough scholars, and to introduce into all, excepting the more mechanical departments of know-

ledge, a degree of superficialness and of inaccuracy highly prejudicial to the best interests of sound learning.

Were there no other objection to be brought against the monitorial system, as a whole,—let me be distinctly understood,—this alone would possess power enough to overthrow almost every argument which could be adduced in its favour. It is not our object here to enter into any disquisition upon the importance of a deep and thorough knowledge of whatever branch of learning we undertake to become acquainted with. The praises of sound learning have often and even recently been uttered in your ears, and we will not repeat the thrice-told though still delightful tale. In your own bosoms, if there live there, as we most sincerely hope there does, that richly merited veneration for profound and unyielding investigation, to whatever department of learning it may be directed, in your own bosoms these praises must have found a responsive voice.

"Drink deep, or taste not the Piërian spring," is a line of peerless merit, and fraught with the wisest counsel; counsel of more than ordinary value in these degenerated days of surface and of skimming, the prevailing genius of which is, we fear, becoming more and more averse to that uncompromising toil and patient labour, which can alone fast bind the bays and the laurels around the scholar's brow. We hold it to be self-evident, that no man is fairly entitled to the meed of sound classical scholarship, unless he be deeply versed in the grammatical principles of ancient language, unless he be extensively acquainted with the splendid productions of ancient learning, and unless he be almost a worshipper of every letter in every

name which beautifies the long list of the genius and intellect of classic days. Nor would we award to him the merit of mathematical skill who is not as familiar with every department of that heaven-born science as with the sounds of his native tongue. We expect not to find, in every age and in every land, the immortal names of a Porson and a Bentley, of a La Place and a Bowditch. No, the world has not worth enough to be blessed with them, and science hardly a depth beyond the reach of their researches. But when such giant intellects are found, let no diminution be made from their just praises. Let us not forget them, and fall into the miserable fashion of the day, of heaping indiscriminate laudings upon a mushroom growth of what are called profound scholars, yet whose claims and whose very appellation will prove as ephemeral as their own existence. Now, we ask, is it the influence of the system under consideration to bring forward scholars like those whose names we have adduced? Is it the influence of this system to foster, to encourage, or even to awaken their love for science, their unsatisfying thirst for the deepest waters of the fountains of learning? We believe it is not. We believe that it is directly the reverse. Is it to be expected, is it reasonable to hope, we do not say from the nature of *things*, but from the nature and habits of young people, that they will exert themselves to the utmost point of the requisite diligence and investigation, to possess themselves perfectly of a certain prescribed portion, suppose of some classic author, if they are assured in their own minds that this portion will not be required of them, and strictly required, by one, whose knowledge in the matter is infinitely superior to their own, and whose authority to require it is com-

mensurate with his knowledge? If studying the writings of the prince of epic poets, will they sedulously investigate the multiplied and endless changes in the form of his words? Will they, with critical acumen, learn thoroughly to distinguish the interminable variety of his dialects? Will they make themselves competent to point out the Attic and the Doric, or even the more common Ionic forms? We believe they will not. We believe they will reason (as even many older individuals would do, except when spurred on by some more than ordinary incitement) that they need not fret themselves, and labour, and toil, and *dig*, as they call it, to obtain all this familiarity with their author; because they are sure that he to whose share it will fall to examine them knows but little if any more about the matter than they themselves do. Is not such reasoning perfectly consonant with the principles of human nature? Do we not see its operations in the every-day business of our schools and of our lives? Here, then, is the great peril. Here then, in our belief, is the grand difficulty and defect in the whole system of monitorial instruction. It will make deficient, defective, and superficial scholars, an evil most sincerely to be deprecated as the canker-worm and destruction of all sound learning. Will all the strivings, will all the counsel, will even the very utmost authority of the principal teacher, prevent entirely so ruinous a result? We fear not. So great is the waywardness, so chainless and powerful the aversion to studious efforts in many, if not in most young people, that all his labour and his counsel will pass by them "like the idle wind." We are sensible that all scholars are not equally opposed to application. We are sensible that there are many of whose very nature labour

and sedulous application seem to be a constituent part; many who would labour and learn in the very worst school the imagination of man ever conceived of.

> "Some trees will thrive, in spite of arid soil;
> Some hold their stately form 'midst raging tempest's toil."

But not so of all. And even for the security and stability of the good principles and firmly-fixed habits of the most diligent scholars, we should have some fears, amidst the general recklessness and indolence which surround them.

We come now, at length, to the consideration of the last topic alluded to in the heading of our remarks, which is, "to show how far the system of Mutual Instruction may be safely adopted into our schools." We confess that we should prefer leaving the entire subject here, after having stated the advantages and defects of the system, permitting each one to form an opinion for himself. It is a point to be dealt with with the extremest wariness and prudence. That the prevailing system of school management has defects, and those, too, of the most palpable and mischievous nature, is an assertion as incontrovertible as truth itself. And it is equally undeniable that an entire, thorough, and radical change, of some kind or another, is loudly demanded. If the monitorial system will cure these defects, without introducing others equally glaring and mischievous; if it will place our schools upon the long and ardently desired footing of pre-eminence and of excellence, the sooner it is universally introduced the better. But, as we have seen, this system, as well as the ordinary one, has certain essential and inherent defects. As we have seen, also, it possesses some very eminent points of excellence. This being the case, it would seem as though

the voice of prudence would direct us to separate the chaff from the wheat; to adopt what is good, so far as the nature of our school system will permit, while at the same time we retain whatever is meritorious in the old, and to reject whatever is bad and therefore mischievous from them both. *In medio tutissimus ibis* is a motto of the soundest prudence, and as applicable to the case in discussion as to the numerous others to which it has been so frequently applied. The course, then, which we believe might be followed with entire safety, and even with absolute benefit, would be to adopt into all our schools those points in the monitorial system which, possessing in themselves universally acknowledged excellence, have at the same time the desired power of effectually remedying several of the greatest defects in our common system. That we may be more precisely understood, we proceed to be more particular. We have already stated, in the former part of these remarks, that there is a very great portion of time, in a school conducted upon the ordinary method, which is spent in the most unprofitable idleness. We have observed also that this failing was not consequent upon any fault of the teacher (for the faithful teacher is constantly employed), but because of the utter impossibility of his giving his attention to more than one set of scholars at a time. Now, in cases like this, and where the number of scholars is greater than can be kept in unremitted occupation by the solitary teacher, let him make use of what is infinitely preferable to a wasteful lavishness of time,—the monitorial system. Let him select some prominent individuals from a superior class, and appoint them to superintend some useful exercises to be carried forward simultaneously by a whole class. These exercises

should be such, however, as have been previously explained and taught by the presiding master, and of the correct conclusion of which there cannot a doubt arise. Let them be perhaps in arithmetic, in algebra, in written translations from Latin or Greek into English, or from English into Latin or Greek, when the monitors can have the assistance of printed keys. We have practised upon this method with great advantage both to pupils and to monitors. As the particular course pursued has sometimes been thought worthy of a passing inquiry, we will, by your permission, enter into an explanation.

Let there be provided a set of black boards, of such a number as the convenience of the school-room and the necessities of the school may require, each board being about forty inches by thirty. Let them be arranged in a convenient part of the room, at about three feet apart, standing contiguous to the wall, and at right angles with it, and parallel to each other. We have always made use of twenty-four. This number may be enlarged or diminished, to conform to the number of pupils who may be required to use them. When the pupils are stationed at them, each has a separate board, the size and position of which, together with the vigilance of the teacher or monitor, prevent his seeing the work upon the board next before him. To every three boards there is appointed a monitor of supervision, who is selected from among the best scholars in the class. Over the whole there is placed a presiding monitor, who is always selected from the highest class in the school, and who consequently has been through the whole course of instruction over which he is directed to preside.* At

* Whenever the occupations of the teacher of the school will permit, let him be the presiding monitor. He will find this method of teaching and reciting, particularly in the mathematics, the best that can be devised.

these boards are performed numerous exercises in translations; all exercises in arithmetic and algebra; all those in the practical parts of geometry and trigonometry; and many in the demonstrative parts of the latter sciences; each pupil being required to draw the figure, and to write out the demonstration. It is to be understood also that all these exercises are performed by the pupils entirely without the aid of their text-books, excepting in very extraordinary cases. They are of course never allowed to use them, nor even to carry them from their seats to the boards when about to recite demonstrations in geometry and trigonometry. In long and complicated questions in arithmetic and algebra they are sometimes favoured with them; but in ordinary cases the presiding monitor alone holds the book, and announces the question for solution. Each scholar then takes the data, as he hears them given out, and afterwards completes the operation. The monitors of supervision also are required to perform all questions upon slates held in their hands, and to exhibit them to the presiding monitor. They afterwards inspect the work of the three individuals committed to their charge, and report if right or wrong to the presiding monitor. It is the chief excellence of this application of the monitorial system, and this particular manner of using the black-board, that each and every question is performed by each and every scholar. And the circumstance of his being unprovided with a book from which to copy his formulas or to obtain his rules, and the fact that he cannot possibly get assistance from any other one than himself, render it certain that he must become, in some greater or less degree, familiar with the subjects to which his attention is directed.

There are very many useful purposes to which a set of black boards like these may be applied, all of which the circumstances of the school and the matured judgment of the experienced teacher will point out to him. He may also, with advantage to his pupils, adopt the monitorial system in cases of reviewing a lesson which has been already recited to himself in geography, spelling, and in the more simple and mechanical parts of knowledge, as has been already remarked.

But we do not feel willing to say to any, " Adopt the system of mutual instruction in full, since it is the very best that has been ever devised." For we should then be saying what we cannot bring ourselves to believe. What then is the course, or the system, which, as a whole, may be safely and advantageously introduced into our schools? We will briefly explain our views on this subject, and then bring our remarks to a close. In the first place, we believe that the most beneficial course which can be followed, is, that the number of scholars in our public schools should be lessened, or that the number of teachers should be increased. Of the two alternatives we should prefer the latter, and have come to the belief that a method somewhat similar to that recently adopted for the management of the Boston public schools would prove satisfactory and beneficial. That is to say, in the regular organization of a school we would give, as assistants to the principal teacher, one or two or more adults, and as many younger assistants as the exigencies of the school would require. These latter should be persons who had been regularly *through the whole course of instruction in the same school in which they were appointed to teach*, and under the tuition of the same teacher whose helps they were ap-

pointed to be. If we were to take our choice between half a dozen of such young teachers, and one or even two ushers, we should infinitely prefer the former, even at a greater expense. But that they may be obtained at a less is unquestionably true; and of their becoming very competent and skilful we have not the least doubt, particularly if kept in employ for three or four successive years. Such persons, by thus serving an apprenticeship at the business of instruction, in the positive necessity of which we have the fullest belief, would become infinitely better qualified for the profession than any of our young men, fresh and green from the embrace of Alma Mater. We would be understood as meaning that they should pursue a systematic course of instruction and of study, aside from their regular and daily service as teachers, and that these studies should be directed with a view to the particular situation in which they might be expected to teach. Such an experiment has been made, and has resulted in entire success; and we can see no reason why the method might not be adopted in every school in the country.

We had intended to say something upon the comparative efficacy of the system of mutual instruction when applied to our common schools, academies, and high schools, and when to our colleges; and to show, that, in our belief, less danger and difficulty are to be apprehended in the latter than in the former application of it. But we feel that we have already trespassed too far upon your time and patience. That some immediate and thorough reform, in these high seasons of reform, is loudly demanded for our common schools, we must all be persuaded. What method of reform shall prove at once the most expedient, the most expeditious, and

the most salutary, can, we are persuaded, be best determined by the united wisdom and experience of the assembled instructors of the country. The present is a most propitious opportunity for the discussion of the entire subject. That this may be but the commencement of a long-continued series of numerous, of useful, and of harmonious "gatherings of ourselves together" is our ardent wish; and that they may result in the rapid improvement of each and of every establishment in which we are engaged, and in the wide diffusion of the blessings of universal education, is our most fervent petition.

THE SEMINARY FOR SCHOOLMASTERS AT KÖNIGSBERG IN PRUSSIA.

By W. WITTICH.

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In No. XII. of the Journal of Education a general account has been given of the principles and views which directed the Prussian government in establishing and arranging the seminaries for teachers of the lower classes. We shall here show their application, by giving the particulars of one of these institutions; and for this purpose we have chosen the seminary established in the Orphanotrophy of Königsberg, in Eastern Prussia.

We have made choice of this institution for several reasons. First, it is not one of the largest, nor one of the smallest; the number of seminarists amounting last year to forty-three. Secondly, it occupies a conspicuous position in the history of public education in Prussia, being the place in which a number of successive experiments have been made, of which the present system of education is the result. Lastly, its internal arrangement is more complete than that of many other institutions of this description, a school being annexed to it in which those who intend to enter the seminary receive preparatory instruction. We shall therefore prefix a short historical notice of its foundation and progress.

The Orphanotrophy at Königsberg was founded by Frederick III., Duke of Prussia, the same day on which he declared his dukedom to be a kingdom, and caused himself to be crowned king, under the name of Frederick the First. This event took place on the 18th of January, 1701. According to the statutes of the foundation, twenty-four orphans were to receive an education in this institution. This number was in course of time increased to upwards of fifty, and then again reduced to thirty. The boys admitted were, according to the intention of the founder, not to receive exclusively a classical education; but as at that time the education of the middle and lower classes had been very little attended to, a middle course, something between mere spelling and a classical instruction, was hardly known. But the funds, which were provided by the founder, and increased by his successors, were abundantly sufficient for the maintenance of two classical teachers. Accordingly it happened that the original intention of the founder was soon departed from, and the whole system of instruction was modelled on that of a grammar-school. In this form it existed for more than a century, and attained a certain degree of repute, a considerable number of learned and useful men having received their education in it between 1701 and 1809.

In 1809, however, the institution underwent a total change. After the unsuccessful war with France, which was terminated by the peace of Tilsit, the Prussian government, intending to raise the energy of the nation by an internal impulse, began to direct their attention to the education of the lower classes. Pestalozzi had many years before begun his useful labours, and his fame was then at its height. The Prussian government

thought that their object would be best attained by transplanting his method of instructing the lower classes into the kingdom, and diffusing it through all the elementary schools. With this view one normal school was thought necessary, and perhaps sufficient; and among all the then existing institutions, the Orphanotrophy at Königsberg was selected as the most suitable for the establishment of such a normal school.

As the normal school then established in the Orphanotrophy was the first active step which government took for the improvement of the instruction of the lower classes, it may perhaps be interesting to know some particulars respecting its arrangement. According to the plan of the government, an indefinite number of boys were to receive their education here after the method of Pestalozzi; and those of them who showed talent and inclination for teaching others were to be employed as teachers, so that in this respect the institution might be considered as a seminary of teachers for the lower classes. But at the same time it was to serve as a means of perfecting the method of Pestalozzi, and of diffusing it through all the Prussian territories. For the latter purpose the rectors and vicars, who all through Prussia are charged with the direction and superintendence of the middling and elementary schools, were invited to attend the instruction given in the institution; and the head and director was to deliver lectures to them on the principles of the method of Pestalozzi, and on the subjects which were to be taught in the lower schools. Lastly, it was intended that the most able of the teachers who had been employed in this institution, and had made themselves thoroughly acquainted with

its methods, should establish similar institutions in the other provinces of the kingdom.

Mr. Zeller was charged with the execution of this extensive plan, who, from his enthusiasm, zeal, activity, and knowledge of the method of Pestalozzi, seemed to be perfectly qualified for the great task of reform; and undoubtedly he would have performed the task, had he possessed a sufficient knowledge of human nature. But his efforts not being directed by this most essential knowledge, his zeal and activity were rather detrimental to the cause which he had undertaken. He changed everything in the then existing forms of education: most of these changes were mere trifles; and some of them quite puerile. Some very important branches of instruction he abolished or entirely neglected, substituting for them others of little or no importance. Thus in the course of the first year it became evident that the expectations of government with respect to this institution were completely frustrated. The efforts of government for the improvement of the education of the lower classes would thus have proved entirely abortive, and perhaps this great object would have been abandoned in despair, but for one circumstance. The rectors and vicars, as well as the teachers of the upper schools, had been invited by government to attend the instruction of the normal school and the lectures of Mr. Zeller for a month, and accordingly 102 clergymen and 81 teachers had availed themselves of this offer. The minds of all these persons had been excited and roused by this opportunity, and without adhering strictly to what they had seen or heard, many of them, who were men of considerable talent and knowledge, used their own good

sense, and began to introduce changes into the schools under their direction, and to urge government to proceed in their plans. Thus it may be truly said, that out of this attempt, which in its immediate consequences proved a complete failure, the present improved state of education in Prussia took its rise.

As soon as the inefficiency of Zeller's exertions was fairly proved, the institution underwent another change, which brought it much nearer to the present arrangement of the seminaries. It was ordered that the pupils, whenever they showed talent and inclination for teaching, should be instructed in the institution up to their eighteenth year, and then sent to some of the most intelligent clergymen, who were to employ them as assistants in the elementary schools till they had completed their twentieth or twenty-first year, when they might become schoolmasters. But this plan was not long adhered to, as, in the mean time, attempts had been made to establish seminaries for schoolmasters in other places, and these attempts had been more successful. A way was thus pointed out, by following which it seemed probable that undertakings of this description would be attended with such results as government desired. Those institutions therefore in which unsuccessful attempts had been tried were by degrees reduced to the form of those which promised a fair success, and among these was the Orphanotrophy of Königsberg.

This seminary has the advantage, as already mentioned, of having connected with it a preparatory school.

It owes this advantage to its having been ingrafted on a charitable institution which previously existed ; for such a preparatory school is not considered as a necessary part of a seminary, and most seminaries in fact are not

supported by such an auxiliary institution. As far as we know, preparatory schools are only connected with two others of these institutions, the great seminary at Bunslau, in Silesia, and that at Yenkau, near Danzig; and in both places the preparatory schools owe their origin to the existence of charitable institutions for education before the erection of the seminaries. But though these preparatory schools seem by no means to enter necessarily into the plan of a seminary, they are considered decidedly advantageous for the instruction of teachers of the lower classes; and this conviction has given rise to the idea of connecting a preparatory school with every seminary in Prussia as soon as the requisite funds shall be provided.

The preparatory school is, properly speaking, the school of the ancient orphanotrophy. But it differs from it materially in not giving any longer to its pupil a classical education, but only that of a good middling school. The number of orphans amounts as formerly to about thirty, who receive in the institution board, lodging, and instruction gratis, just as it is ordained in the statutes of the foundation. Those who show talent, and manifest a decided inclination for the vocation of schoolmaster, are then prepared by a suitable instruction for the seminary. The subjects of instruction for these pupils do not differ from those taught to the other orphans; but some of the branches are taught with more particular care: such as arithmetic, calligraphy, geometry, the vernacular language, reading, history, geography, natural philosophy, and natural history. To this is added instruction in music; which is however of a practical kind, and affords the boys an exercise in playing the piano-forte and the violin. Besides this, the

elements of the Latin language are taught, because it frequently happens that the schoolmasters of the town-schools are required to give private lessons in that language, and this seminary is partly designed for educating teachers for the middling schools. It must of course be expected that, among thirty boys, the number of those who have talents and inclination for teaching cannot be large, and in fact the number last year did not amount to more than five. Government therefore has opened this school to other boys who are not orphans, and who show a disposition to become schoolmasters. These boys attend the school gratis, but are provided with board and lodging by their parents and relations. The number of such pupils amounted in 1834 to twenty-three. Before these boys are admitted to the preparatory school, they must submit to an examination, in which they have to prove that they have been completely instructed in the subjects taught in the elementary schools. They must show that they have acquired, 1, a legible hand; 2, a knowledge of the most simple rules of arithmetic, and a certain dexterity in applying them; 3, the elements of geometry, and that they are acquainted, 4, with the principal rules of orthography and orthoepy, and 5, with the catechism of Luther, and with the history of the principal events in the Bible. Lastly, it is required that they must have an ear for music and a voice for singing. Every year at Easter an examination for this purpose takes place; and those boys who prove that they possess the required qualifications are admitted into the school, and attend it till the completion of their sixteenth year, when they are sent to the seminary.

To be admitted into the seminary, it is not absolutely necessary that the students should have been in the preparatory school. A considerable number of those who attend the seminary have been previously instructed by other persons, frequently by clergymen; but all must submit to an examination before they receive permission to attend the instruction of the seminary. In this examination the candidates have to prove that,

1. They have acquired a more complete and more exact knowledge of the historical portions of the Bible.

2. That they can explain the more easy passages of the Bible.

3. That they begin to master their own language, which is to be proved by writing a composition on some easy subject; as, for instance, the true signification of a proverb, the description of some historical event, or of some natural phenomenon, &c. This exercise ought to be free from any orthographical mistake, and must not contain gross violations of grammatical rules.

4. That their handwriting is not only legible, but good.

5. That they have had some practice in singing from written music.

6. That they have studied an instruction-book of music, and know how to play the pieces from it on the piano-forte, as this degree of proficiency qualifies them to attend the instruction on the organ, and on the theory of music.

7. That they have acquired some knowledge of the organic kingdoms of nature, and are acquainted with the most remarkable plants and animals: a knowledge of mineralogy is not required.

8. That they are likewise acquainted with the principal facts of the history of their own country and of general geography.

9. That their knowledge of geometry is at least equal in extent to what is taught in the better kinds of elementary schools; that is to say, it must comprehend the elements of form, and the most simple properties of angles, triangles, &c.

10. That they are acquainted with fractions, and have also acquired some idea of the reasons on which this portion of arithmetic rests.

The seminarists remain three years in the institution at Königsberg, which is the time required in most of the Prussian seminaries of schoolmasters for the lower classes. Though there are still a few in which the whole course of instruction, together with the necessary practice in teaching, is included in the course of two years, it begins to be plain that this term is too short. When both complete instruction and the practice of teaching are to be acquired in the short period of two years, it is necessary to form a plan by which both objects may be forwarded together; but in such an arrangement the interruptions of the instruction must be frequent, and the mixing up of both objects must be attended with some confusion, which is found by experience to impede the progress of the students. When, on the contrary, the term is extended to three years, the first two are chiefly employed in completing their acquaintance with the subjects of instruction; and the last year is mainly, if not exclusively, appropriated to acquiring the art of teaching under the guidance of one of the teachers in the elementary school annexed to the

seminary. By this arrangement the seminarists have only one principal object in view at once, which with all men, except those gifted with extraordinary genius, is the only way of rising above mediocrity in any branch of knowledge and its applications. Besides this, the latter arrangement offers another important advantage: the seminarists are not appointed to the management of schools at too early an age. As they enter the seminary on the completion of the sixteenth year, their instruction, if it be only a two-years' course, is terminated at the completion of the eighteenth year, which is reasonably considered to be an age at which it would not be prudent to intrust to them the management of a school. At this time of life one or two years make a great difference in maturing the mind and giving it more steadiness and judgment. It is true that, according to the laws, the seminarists are not to be employed as schoolmasters immediately on leaving the seminary; but as the number of individuals trained in the seminaries for the instruction of the lower classes is not yet quite equal to the demand, up to this moment they have generally entered a school as teachers immediately on leaving the seminary, and consequently are no longer under such strict superintendence as persons of that age ought to be. Whenever the term in the seminaries lasts three years, they commonly complete their twentieth year before they are employed in this manner.

This term of three years, as already mentioned, is divided between two objects—the completion of their own knowledge, and the acquisition of the means of imparting it to children. The first forms their principal if not their exclusive occupation during the

first two years of their stay in the seminary, and the last year is appropriated to the attainment of the art of teaching.

In most of the Prussian seminaries, and in all the larger ones, the seminarists are divided into two or three classes for the sake of instruction. But in the smaller seminaries they are all instructed in one class, which is the case in the seminary at Königsberg. But it is intended that such arrangements shall shortly be made, that the seminarists shall be divided into two classes, because it is evident that this arrangement will greatly promote their progress. For this reason we cannot lay before the reader a complete scheme of instruction arranged according to the classes; and we must limit our observations to the different subjects taught in the seminaries, to the extent to which they are carried, and to the mode in which they are taught. Though religion forms one of the principal parts of education, it is not instruction in religious dogmas which is principally kept in view; for it is reasonably supposed that persons who have completed their sixteenth year of age, and have previously had the best kind of education which can be obtained in the elementary schools, must be acquainted with these dogmas. But it is not thought sufficient for a teacher to know them and to understand their meaning and import. He must be able to explain them to others, to apply them to practical life, and to exhibit religious feelings in his own conduct and behaviour. With this view the first object is to excite and maintain religious feelings in his mind, and to confirm his religious habits. It is attempted to effect this partly by instruction and advice, partly by the mode of life established in the seminary, and by reading regular prayers,

and the singing of religious hymns at the beginning and at the close of the daily instruction. It is laid down as a principle, that a man whose religion is not intimately combined with his sentiments, is totally unable to teach religion to others with any practical effect, whatever may be his power of instruction or his eloquence. This, therefore, is looked upon as the true basis of religious instruction. At the same time the seminarists continue the study of the Bible and of the tenets of the Christian church to which they belong; and they must be acquainted with both so intimately as not only to be able to answer every question on religious matters, but likewise to explain the different Christian doctrines in a well-connected discourse, quoting for every tenet contained in it the passages of Scripture which prove such doctrines. To this the seminarist must also add the power of speaking to children on religious subjects in such a way that his reasoning may not only be easily comprehended, but also adapted to affect the minds of the children, and to operate on their habits.

To effect this object, the seminarists are instructed in dogmatical, moral, and religious science, and in ecclesiastical history, and are made acquainted with the most important introductory observations on the whole Scriptures, as well on every part of it. At the same time the Bible is read with them, sometimes the New and sometimes the Old Testament, partly as a devotional exercise, and partly to instruct the seminarists in the best method of explaining the most difficult passages to children.

Peculiar care is taken to instruct the seminarists in the German language, as this is the most important of the instruments by which they have to perform their

labour. In order that they may speak and write correctly, the grammatical part of the language is treated with great attention, and the results of modern researches on the German language are communicated to them, whenever they are of such a nature as to admit of practical application. No less care is taken in bringing them to a habit of writing every kind of prose composition; for which purpose Falkmann's "Manual for German Composition," and the "Methodic" of the same author are much used. Another kind of exercise consists in making a discourse, or a kind of lecture, on any given subject, and frequently without previous preparation. Lastly, the seminarists are requested to read the most classical German authors, poets as well as prose writers, to one another, and they are required to explain those passages which are obscure, which contain allusions, or present any other kind of difficulty.

The seminarists are taught to cast up every kind of accounts with quickness and exactness, and they are also made acquainted with the rational principles on which every arithmetical operation rests, so that they may be able to explain them to their pupils with clearness and precision. They are frequently exercised in casting up accounts mentally, and they are not permitted the use of figures till they have attained a certain degree of facility in calculating without them. In the instruction itself, pure arithmetic always precedes the application of the operations to particular cases, in order that the seminarists may in this way be accustomed to a methodical proceeding. The printed books used are the arithmetical treatises of Kaweran, Diesterweg, and Scholz.

Singing constitutes an important subject of instruction all over Germany, even in the schools for the lower classes, especially in the Protestant countries. This is to be attributed to the manner in which divine service is performed in church. Luther was very fond of singing, and he was of opinion that his devotion was considerably increased by the singing of a religious hymn. He therefore promoted, by every possible means, the introduction of sacred hymns into divine service. This practice has continued nearly unaltered since his time, and it is the custom for the whole congregation to join in the song with a loud voice. This renders instruction in singing a necessary part of school education. In the Prussian seminaries singing is taught on the system of Nägeli, a Swiss, in a methodical manner, beginning with instruction in the principles of time, and then proceeding to the theory of harmony, &c. But as the seminarists, before their admission into the seminary, have generally acquired some knowledge of and practice in singing, this system is not so strictly adhered to as would be necessary if the instruction was given to mere beginners. It is rather intended to indicate how this art is to be taught in a methodical and scientific way. Besides the study of an instruction-book of singing, the seminarists are required to exercise themselves in chorusses, sung by more or less numerous voices, sometimes arranged only for the voices of grown-up men, and sometimes intermingled with those of boys. In this way chorusses and motets of Haydn, Bach, Mozart, Klein, Rungenhagen, Rink, Schultz, &c., are studied and publicly sung on some solemn festival, as for instance on the foundation-day of the institution, at a public examination, &c.;

sometimes also in the cathedral at Christmas, Easter, &c. In that portion of the Prussian dominions in which Königsberg is situated, singing is not so extensively diffused as in some other provinces; but as it is considered one of the most efficient means for harmonizing the mind and exciting proper feelings, this part of the instruction of the seminarists is most carefully attended to, and the exercises are systematically practised. It is required of them to sing more easy compositions at sight.

Those seminarists who show talent for music receive also instruction in the rudiments of harmony and thoroughbass, according to the method of Logier. This branch of instruction is carried so far, that they are enabled to supply with precision all the omitted voices when only one of them is given, to compose preludes and postludes to every piece of sacred music, and to compose tunes and music to any given poetry. This last accomplishment of course can only be attained by a few of the seminarists.

As many of the seminarists may be appointed to schools where the teacher is required to play the organ of the parish church, instruction on this instrument is considered an integral part of the education of a schoolmaster; and in the written testimonials which are delivered to the seminarists on their leaving the institution, it is expressly inserted if they are qualified to act as organists. To obtain such a testimonial the seminarist must be able to play at sight every given piece of sacred music, with the pedal bass figured only and the simple melody, and to play it on an organ with pedals; besides, he must know how to compose preludes, postludes, and interludes, and be acquainted

with the theory of music, or the thoroughbass. The seminarists also receive some instruction in playing the violin, because this instrument is the most proper for being used in teaching singing. Other instruments are taught only to a few, and for the purpose of enabling them to accompany the larger chorusses with instruments in their exhibition at some solemnity. In this branch also other seminaries of the Prussian dominions are much more advanced than that which we are here describing. In Silesia, Saxony, and other parts of the monarchy, music is much more diffused among the people, and the seminaries are accommodated to this taste. In Breslau, Bunzlau, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, the seminarists play large symphonies with great taste and precision.

The study of mathematics is carried to a considerable extent. Those seminarists who show talent for this branch of knowledge go through a complete course in the geometry of lines, planes and solids, and are instructed in the art of surveying, but without the use of artificial instruments. The instruction in algebra comprehends simple equations, with one or more unknown quantities; and the seminarists are not allowed to write down the equations, but must solve them mentally. Besides this, they are instructed in proportion, the doctrine of progressions, the binomial theorem, and pure and adfected quadratic equations.

As the Prussian government desires to diffuse as much as possible the knowledge of nature, and to excite the lower classes to observe its productions, the study of natural history is much attended to in all semi naries. A general view of the three kingdoms of nature, as they are called, is given to the seminarists, and

followed up by an enumeration and description of the principal products of each. More minute particulars are then given to them on such productions as occur in the Prussian territories. At the same time care is taken to show the different applications which are made of these productions in domestic economy and manufactures; and thus technology is united to natural history. The small natural history composed by Schubert is the manual for the seminarists; and small collections of mineralogy, of birds, insects, &c., are shown and explained to them, in order to render the instruction more permanent.

Natural philosophy is treated nearly in the same manner. For a long time this science has been considered one of the principal subjects of instruction, and has therefore been taught in all public schools and private institutions for the middling and upper classes. But as this branch of knowledge has made wonderful progress in modern times, the German teachers have thought it necessary to confine their instruction to general principles. Thus the student obtains a general view of the whole, and of its principal divisions, and is enabled to complete his knowledge at a future time, if he should find it advantageous to enter on the minute study of any one branch. The number of elementary treatises on natural philosophy in the German language is very great, and each is designed and adapted for a peculiar description of schools. In the seminary of Königsberg—and we think in most others too—the manual used is that of Herr, entitled "Short View of the most useful Parts of Natural Philosophy" (Kurzer Inbegriff des Wissenwürdigsten aus der Naturlehre). The explanation of the laws of nature is illustrated

by well-adapted experiments as far as it is possible. The apparatus for such experiments is as simple as it can be made, in order that the future schoolmaster may be enabled to explain many of the natural phenomena by means which the domestic economy of every house affords. Some of the seminarists who show an inclination for this kind of study are instructed in making instruments, such as thermometers, or small models of pumps, machines with wheels, &c.

The instruction in history comprehends general history and the history of Prussia. Of ancient history only the principal facts are taught, but that of the middle ages is treated more extensively, and still more so modern history. The last, inasmuch as it is more intimately connected with the history of Prussia, is taught still more minutely. The instruction in ancient history and in that of the middle ages is continued for a year two hours weekly, and as much time is appropriated to the study of modern history and that of Prussia in particular. The object of this instruction is not the accumulation of a great number of historical facts in the memory of the seminarists, but the implanting of such facts as are connected with the life and occupations of the great body of the people, and with their condition. For this purpose the seminarists are exercised in narrating orally a larger or a smaller portion of history which is given to them, in doing which they have to keep in view some particular end or object, and are required to arrange their matter in a connected and perspicuous order. The manual used for this branch of instruction is that of Tetzen.

Mathematical geography, or the use of the globes, is only taught so far as it is necessary for the explanation

of the most important phenomena connected with the subject and the use of maps. It is followed by a general survey of the divisions of the globe; in doing which all the existing political divisions are excluded, in order that the characteristic features of the surface of the earth may be known and impressed on the mind with distinctness. After this has been effected, the present political divisions are briefly added. This instruction takes one year and a half, and the remaining half-year is employed on the geography of the Prussian territories, and more especially of the province in which the seminary is situated. For general geography the usual manner is that of Volger, but for the geography of the different provinces different small books are used.

As persons who possess some knowledge of the human body are commonly more attentive to the preservation of their health than those who are ignorant in this respect, it is considered that the welfare of the great bulk of the people will be promoted by the dissemination of such knowledge among them. With this view the seminarists receive some instruction of this kind in a weekly lesson during one semestre, in which care is taken to point out what is conducive and what is hurtful to health, as well as the most simple and approved remedies. With this instruction is united a short course of psychology, in which the chief phenomena of the human mind are indicated and explained.

The last subject in which the seminarists are instructed in the seminary is drawing. It is evident that this kind of instruction cannot be carried to a great extent in elementary schools. The most important part is connected with the elements of mathematics, by which the seminarists are made acquainted with the

regular and irregular forms which frequently occur, and learn to draw them. But besides, all of them are bound to acquire some facility in copying drawings, and peculiar attention is paid to instruction in perspective. Those seminarists who show some talent not only learn to draw single objects, but also landscapes. The instruction is given according to the method of P. Smid, and in the practical application of it Ramsauer's instruction in drawing is used.

Such are the subjects in which schoolmasters for the lower classes are instructed in the seminary at Königsberg, and we do not think that there is any material difference in this respect between it and other seminaries. For as every change in the subjects of instruction either emanates from government, or can only be introduced by its express consent, the seminaries are now brought near to one uniform standard, and consequently carry their instruction nearly to the same point.

It is obvious that during the course of this instruction many opportunities occur of explaining to the seminarists the best method in which every branch of knowledge, or some more difficult parts of them, may be taught and adapted to the comprehension of children; and such opportunities are not allowed to escape. Experience is rapidly increasing the number and contributing almost daily to the perfection of the methods. Nevertheless it is thought indispensable to instruct the seminarist separately in the art of teaching, or in *pædagogic* and *methodic*. This part of their instruction is both theoretical and practical.

The third year of the stay of the seminarists in the institution, as already observed, is more especially employed in receiving instruction in the art of teaching;

but they are previously made acquainted with the theoretical part of it. During the first year, for two hours a week, the director of the seminary, or one of the teachers, instructs them in general and special pædagogic, not by delivering lectures, but by entering into conversation with them. First, the general principles and the principal subjects of education are explained; and afterwards, the duties of the teacher, not only as a person who has to teach, but also as one who has to educate the people. In these discourses the future teacher hears how he ought to direct his efforts towards the preserving and improving the health and mental and moral qualities of those who will be confided to his care in an elementary school. To this is added a short view of the history of education and of instruction, more especially in Germany. In order that this information may not escape the memory of the seminarists, the teacher gives them a manuscript, in which the principal points of this instruction are explained, or, as is the case in many other seminaries, the seminarists use for their further instruction Harnisch's "Manual for Schoolmasters in Elementary Schools."

A similar course is adopted in the second year for the instruction in methodic, or in the art of teaching. After the general principles of instruction have been fully explained, all the subjects which are to be taught are taken into consideration, one after the other, and the extent to which every subject is to be taught, and the manner in which it may be taught with the best effect, are ascertained. At the conclusion of these discourses a number of observations are made on the discipline of schools, the arrangement of the subjects, the relation in which the schoolmaster is placed towards his superiors,

the inhabitants of the parish, the parents of the children, &c. During these discourses the seminarists are made acquainted with the principal treatises and books on these matters, many of which are given to them to read.

To induce the seminarists to increase their knowledge, and to complete their views respecting the best method of educating and instructing children, they are requested to read books on such subjects, and are allowed access to the library of the institution, which contains a pretty complete collection of books on pædagogical subjects, and is placed under the care of one of the teachers. A kind of control is established at the seminary for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the books have been read by the seminarists, and in what manner and with what effect. Every seminarist before he leaves the institution is bound to deliver to the committee of examination a catalogue of the books treating of pædagogic or methodic which he has read, and an abstract of each of them, which ought to be short, but in some manner complete. This practice, as may readily be conceived, is attended with very good effects in keeping up the industry and attention of the seminarists.

When the theoretical instruction of the seminarists in the art of teaching has been nearly completed, the practical part begins. According to the laws of Prussia, a school is attached to every seminary, in which a sufficient opportunity is afforded to the future teachers of elementary schools of exercising themselves in the application of what they have been taught. In the larger seminaries such schools are divided into two or even three classes; but at Königsberg it contains only one class with three divisions. This arrangement is rather

to be attributed to the want of sufficient accommodation in the building; but instead of being considered a disadvantageous circumstance, it is rather thought advantageous, and for this reason: by far the greatest number of the elementary schools in the province of Königsberg, for which the seminarists in this institution are exclusively designed, have only one teacher. Now it is evident that among these children, who frequently amount to fifty and more, there must exist such a difference in age, knowledge, and mental faculties, that, if possible, they should be divided into three or more classes. But still they are to be instructed by one teacher. It is therefore very advantageous that such a teacher should have learnt by experience how he has to manage the matter, in order to be able to teach properly a school consisting of three divisions.

In the seminary-school the young teachers begin their practical exercises with teaching a division in the presence and under the direction of one of the teachers, and they continue to do this for some time, till the director of the seminary is convinced that their progress in the art of teaching has been considerable. He then places a whole division under their independent exertions for a fixed period, and observes their skill and the progress of the children. At the end of every semestre an examination takes place, in which the seminarists alone examine, before a committee, the divisions which have been confided to their instruction.

To support and excite the industry and emulation of the seminarists, a conference between them and the teachers of the seminary is held once a month, in which their scanty experience is supplied by the more extensive experience of the director and of the teachers. The

discussion which takes place in such conferences relates especially to the instruction itself, to the discipline, the treatment of the class or division, to particular children and their perverse inclinations, and the most proper means of correcting them. In these conferences the director of the institution encourages the open and independent declaration of their opinions by the seminarists.

The senior seminarists are by turn charged with keeping the lists of the absentees and the other school lists; they are likewise to receive the children when they enter the school before the beginning of the instruction, to examine those who are not cleanly, to superintend them during the play hours, to observe them when they leave the school to go home, &c. By a proper attention to these points they are fitted for the due exercise of their future vocation.

After a stay of three years in the institution, the seminarist is dismissed to be employed as teacher in an elementary or middling school. But before his dismission he must again submit to an examination, and to rather a rigorous one. This examination is threefold. It consists of some written compositions, of a display of his skill in teaching, and of a personal examination by the committee.

The compositions are made in the presence of one of the teachers, and consist—1, of a catechetical essay on a given passage of the Bible, or a section of the Catechism—2, another essay on some branch of pædagogic or methodic—3, of a composition on general instruction in some scientific subject—4, of the solution of some mathematical problems—5, of a composition of sacre music for the organ, with prelude, interlude, and post-

lude, as well as another to be sung by three or four voices. The seminarists must prove the skill which they have attained in the art of teaching, by catechising a division of the school in the presence of the committee on some of the tenets of the Protestant religion, and afterwards by some lessons on other subjects. The subjects of this part of the examination are announced to the seminarists the day before, that they may have time to prepare themselves for this display of their skill and talents.

The personal examination comprehends all the branches of knowledge in which they have been instructed during their stay in the institution. They must show,—

1. That they have a complete knowledge of the religious tenets and of the moral principles of their persuasion, and that they are able to discourse on any of these subjects with perspicuity and precision.

2. They must be fully acquainted with the memorable events contained in the Bible, and understand how to explain any one of them in a comprehensive way to children.

3. They must have acquired the knowledge of the language, so as to know how the sounds, syllables, and simple words are formed, how the derivative and compound words are made, and lastly how the termination of words are changed, sentences formed, and a whole composition arranged. They must show that they know how to apply this knowledge to every peculiar case.

4. They must have an historical knowledge of the different methods of teaching the several branches of knowledge, and how to apply them; more especially

they must know the different methods used in teaching to read, to draw, and to perform the common rules of arithmetic.

5. They must be able to play the ordinary pieces o sacred music by heart, and the more difficult and those which do not occur frequently with the assistance of written music.

6. They must be well versed in all kinds of calculations, both on paper and mentally, and they must prove that they know the reasons on which each operation rests, and that they are able to explain them with perspicuity.

7. If the seminarists wish to be employed in the town-schools, they must be acquainted with the fundamental principles of geometry, as well as with the elements of algebra.

8. They must show a knowledge of the more practical parts of botany, zoology, and mineralogy; for instance, they must be well acquainted with the poisonous and medical plants, and with the trees growing in their country, and their different uses in domestic economy or the mechanical arts.

9. What they must know in natural philosophy, history and geography, has been indicated before.

10. Those who wish to be employed as organists must be able to play every piece of sacred music with the pedal bass figured only, and the simple melody given on an organ with pedal, and to compose preludes, interludes, and postludes; besides they must be so far acquainted with the theory of music as to be able to compose the accompaniment of every given tune for the organ, or to arrange it for three or four voices.

After the examination, written testimonials are deli-

vered to the seminarists who are going to leave. These testimonials are divided into three classes, and numbered I. II. III. Those seminarists who have proved that they have acquired all the knowledge required by the regulations of government, receive the testimonials numbered I., with the word 'distinguished.' Those who have not completely acquired that knowledge in all branches, but who have proved that they are well acquainted with the principal subjects, that is, with religion, language, arithmetic, and singing, receive testimonials numbered II., with the word 'good,' sometimes 'very good,' sometimes 'nearly good.' Lastly, those who have not acquired a complete knowledge of the above-mentioned branches, but nevertheless have made such progress in some of them that they can be employed in less numerous and poorer schools, receive testimonials numbered III., with the words 'sufficiently instructed.'

According to the first regulations issued by government in this matter, all those who had not obtained the testimonials numbered I. were to submit to another examination, by which they should prove that they had supplied their defects. But after some time the directors of the seminaries were requested to give their opinion on this point, and nearly all of them declared that many of the seminarists could never obtain such a degree of knowledge as to entitle them to the testimonial numbered I., because they did not possess sufficient talents. But nevertheless most of them were very industrious men, and would doubtless be very good schoolmasters. The directors therefore thought, that only those who had received testimonials numbered III. should submit to a second examination before they

could be employed as teachers in elementary schools ; and government acceded to this proposal.

The whole institution contained, in 1834, in its different divisions, 192 seminarists and children, namely,

a, in the seminary,

1, seminarists who belong to the orphanotrophy, and receive board and lodging gratis	5
2, seminarists who are maintained by their relations, and visit the seminary gratis*	38
	43

b, in the preparatory school, or what is properly called the orphanotrophy,

1, orphans receiving board, lodging, instruction, &c., gratis	24
2, boys who are destined for entering the seminary, and maintained by their relations	25
	49

c, in the seminary-school, boys and girls . 100

The number of teachers in this institution is five, namely the director of the seminary and four others.

In the last eight years, or since the complete organization of the seminaries in Prussia, 87 seminarists have been educated in this institution :—

* Since the beginning of this year government has ordered that six seminarists who are poor but industrious shall receive a monthly allowance of two dollars (six shillings).

	No. I.	No. II. (very good)	No. II.	No. III.	Total.
1826 (Michaelmas)	,,	2	2	,,	4
1827	,,	3	1	1	5
1828	,,	4	3	,,	7
1829	1	3	3	2	9
1831 (Easter)	1	3	7	2	13
1832	1	2	9	5	17
1833	1	4	9	2	16
1834	5	5	3	3	16
	9	26	37	15	87

Of this number some were employed in town-schools, others in elementary schools in the country, and a few as private teachers in families :

In town-schools . . .	38
,, country-schools . . .	33
,, private tutors . . .	16
	87

END OF VOL. I.

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